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YALE CLASSICAL STUDIES

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BY

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LUCIAN'S DRAMATIC TECHNIQUE

BY ALFRED R. BELLINGER

LUCIAN'S DRAMATIC TECHNIQUE

IN dramatic writing, as in all the other arts, there are fundamental problems which must be met to make it intelligible, and, according to Greek standards at least, it must be intelligible before it can be considered art at all. A portrait must be made recognizably human before it can convey beauty or majesty or any other quality, good or bad; a house must be a serviceable dwelling before it can be made a delight to the eye; even music, the most remote of the arts, must be cast into a form which its hearers can understand before it can arouse any emotion except irritation. So, in the drama, the highest flights of genius would be lost if the playwright had not first informed his audience as to the place, the situation, and the *dramatis personae.* These same problems confront the writer of dramatic dialogues intended to be read aloud by the author, instead of acted. Moreover, these problems are much more difficult to solve, for here the audience can see the scene only in imagination, the actors do not appear at all, and the same voice delivers the speeches of them all. The dialogue had had a long and honorable history before the second century A.D., though Plato and Plutarch are the only considerable remains of that literature. But, in the works of Lucian, the dramatic element attains an unprecedented importance. Dialogue had been regarded as the property of philosophy, devised for eager learners, not for audiences intent only on amusement. Lucian was a professional entertainer, and, seeing the possibilities inherent in dialogue, he treated it with a lightness and satiric brilliance which resulted in the creation of what was practically a new form of art. There was, of course, protest from the traditionalists, which he represents and against which he defends himself in the *Double Indictment,*[1] but the criticism of the schools troubled him very little, for it was not to the schools but to the public that he looked for appreciation. And he knew his public perfectly. The age of the Antonines was distinguished for its extent of literacy and culture, but not for its depth of thought. Even the meditations of the great emperor, noble and lofty as they are, are not profound. The people were quite willing to listen to trifles, but, though they could do without weightiness, they did demand polish. Their passion for the unusual was so great as

1 Δὶς Κατηγορούμενος, 26 ff.

sometimes to put Lucian himself a little out of temper, for he complained once[2] that all his skill was overlooked in an uncultivated and fulsome praise of his novelty. But there can be no doubt that they were keenly appreciative of finesse, and the art on which he prided himself was abundantly rewarded in his great popularity as a reader. He has also reaped the further reward of immortality from that same art, for the skill with which he charmed his audiences is the quality which still makes his trifles a delight to read. And beneath all the more evident virtues of his art is the beautiful technique with which he met and conquered the basic problems common to all drama.

It is instructive to compare his procedure with that of the dramatists in the initial duty of exposition.[3] The audience has a right to be informed at once as to the scene, the circumstances, and the persons of the piece. In modern times, this matter is much simplified by the use of playbills and programs, but the Greek dramatists, having no such conveniences, had to rely on conventional scenery, the appearance of the characters, and the lines to do all the necessary explanation. How far the painted scenery, which Sophocles is said to have invented, could define the place of action it is hard to say. We should not expect realism to be either achieved or attempted, and there is ample proof that the tragedians did not rely on it too far, in the care they took to precise the scene by means of the lines, either directly naming the place, or showing it quite as clearly by such a naming of persons as Κάδμου πολῖται. There are only two tragedies where the first speaker does not perform this duty. They are Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* and Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*. The state in which the latter has come down to us makes it hardly safe to reason about it; the former is an exception with a very definite purpose. The blind Oedipus and his daughter have wandered away from Thebes, and it is a part of their pitiable situation that they do not know to what land they have come, while the information which they get from a passer-by is quite early enough to keep the audience from confusion. To say that the scene is laid in the first speech does not, of course, mean that it necessarily

[2] Ζεῦξις.

[3] For discussion of the technique of the dramatists, see R. C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and Its Drama*,[3] Chicago, 1926, the chapters on "Actors," "Physical Conditions," and "Theatrical Machinery and Dramatic Conventions"; Francesco Guglielmo, *Arte e Artifizio nel Dramma Greco*, Catania, 1912, Part I, chapters 2 and 4; Evelyn Spring, "A Study of Exposition in Greek Tragedy," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 1917. In all these may be found further references to the special literature of the subject.

comes with the first words. It is sometimes so arranged, as, for example, in the opening of *Prometheus,* "We have come to the remotest bounds of earth, the land of Scythia," but, on the other hand, the Euripidean prologue gave the dramatist plenty of leisure. In *Iphigenia in Tauris* it is not until line 30 that Iphigenia tells us where we are. But in all tragedies except the two noted, the scene is set when the action begins. The scene once set is difficult to change, and the attempt is seldom made. Comedy, on the other hand, is much more elastic in dealing with place, for the very good reason that place is seldom so important as in Tragedy. Aristophanes makes nothing of giving a hundred lines or so of brisk dialogue before anything is said about the scene, as in the *Clouds.* The audience assumes the action to take place somewhere in Athens, unless they are informed to the contrary, and a more exact location of the place is often of no importance at all. Similarly, there is much greater freedom in the change of scene, for the difficulty of being convincing and continually serious, which is a strain for even so great a play as the *Eumenides,* does not concern Comedy at all, and Trygaeus takes the audience with him to Olympus on his doodle bug with an ease quite beyond the tragic resources.

Lucian, being entirely without the assistance of scenery, must either present dialogues whose place is immaterial or he must tell where the place is. In most cases he prefers to do the former. For example, the discussion of philosophy with Hermotimus would be equally appropriate to any town and to any section of the town; the audience does not need to visualize the background in order to visualize the characters. The *Dialogues of the Courtesans* have no scene and need none. In some cases, however, he has to be explicit. *The Downward Journey* would be meaningless if it were not set at the threshold of the lower world; the point of *Charon* is that the ferryman is a temporary spectator of the world above. There is, of course, nothing to prove that Lucian did not announce the scene at the beginning of the piece, but a careful study of his technique shows that it was his practice to supply the exposition by the words of the characters themselves, and leads to the belief that he read these dialogues without preface and without interruption by explanations or stage directions in his own person. So, *The Downward Journey* begins, "Well, Clotho, this boat of ours has been ready a long time—Hermes is late," and when Clotho answers and we learn that the first speaker was Charon, the picture of the shores of the Styx is at once complete. In *Charon,* Hermes, in the first speech, does the

necessary scene setting, "What are you laughing at, Charon, and what have you left your ferry-boat for to come up among us?" A less swift but equally satisfactory opening is that of *The Dream, or the Cock,* where Micyllus in a perfectly natural outburst of anger lets us know that he is a poor man wakened in the dead of night by the untimely zeal of his rooster. It is a poor imagination that cannot then supply the further details for the dark interior of the cobbler's hovel. It is in the *Dialogues of the Dead* that an indication of the scene is most necessary, and in them we find the need filled with the greatest delicacy. In some of them the names of the characters themselves set the scene. If one introduces Pluto, or Charon, Minos or Aeacus, or Tantalus tormented, any further indication of the place would be superfluous. But the dialogues do not always include famous local characters, and then Lucian slips in a word or two to guide his hearers. In the very first, for example, Diogenes begins, "Polydeuces, I beg you, as soon as you have gone up—tomorrow's your day for going up, I understand . . ." and he proceeds to send various messages by him. Obviously the only place from which Polydeuces could be going up is Hades. The commonest method, of course, is for one or all of the characters to be referred to as dead, but this is done with great variety and skill. Menippus begins,[4] "Trophonius and Amphilochus, if you two are corpses, I don't see why you are thought to deserve shrines and are supposed to be prophets." As Trophonius replies, it is clear that they *are* corpses. In the seventh Dialogue Zenophantes asks Callidemides "And how did *you* die?" In the ninth, Simylus says, "So you've come to us at last, Polystratus. I guess you lived not much less than a hundred years." The first part of the eleventh is not concerned with Crates and Diogenes, who are the speakers, but with the absurdities of two rich men each of whom had hoped to inherit the other's goods, who had died on the same day. As soon as their tale is told, Diogenes says, "Now when *we* were alive. . . ." The thirteenth and fourteenth both deal with Alexander. In the former, Diogenes exclaims, "What, Alexander, you dead too, like all the rest of us?" In the latter, Philip says, "Now, Alexander, you won't be denying that you're my son. You wouldn't have died if you'd been Ammon's." In the next Dialogue, Antilochus addresses Achilles about his conversation with Odysseus of a few days before. As this is the conversation reported in the Odyssey when Achilles was a ghost, his present state is clear. In the twenty-fourth, Di-

[4] Νεκρικοὶ Διάλογοι, 3.

ogenes asks, "Carian, what are you so puffed up about, assuming that you deserve more than all the rest of us?" "Why, because of my kingship, Sinopean! I was king of all Caria." The tense of the verb is enough. Similarly, the conversation of Antisthenes, Diogenes and Crates of the twenty-seventh Dialogue could hardly have taken place in the land of the living. In the twenty-ninth, Agamemnon says, "If you went mad, Ajax, and killed yourself, meaning to kill all of us, why blame Odysseus?"

It will be seen that, as one might expect, Lucian is much nearer to Comedy than Tragedy. Such location as is necessary he prefers to do by implication rather than by bare naming of the place, and he specifies as little as possible, wisely confining the imagination of his audience no more strictly than to the city or the country or the whole realm of Hades. This vagueness increases the ease with which he can change the scene. In *The Judgment of the Goddesses,* Hermes conducts the fair litigants from Heaven to Ida, where Paris is tending his Phrygian herds. A still more striking case is that of Aeacus and Menippus, who go the rounds of Hades, visiting a succession of celebrities. And in *The Ship, or the Wishes,* three men see and overtake a fourth, walking, like them, from the Piraeus to Athens.

Plato does not make use of the same freedom of movement. At the opening of *Phaedrus,* Phaedrus and Socrates are starting for a walk, but the walk begins nowhere and ends nowhere, while, in cases where the course is better defined, as in *The Republic,* it is narrated instead of being an integral part of the dialogue. On the other hand, Plato is occasionally perfectly specific as to place, as Lucian is not. For instance, Euthyphro asks, "What strange thing has happened, Socrates, that you have left your haunts in the Lyceum and now haunt the stoa of the King Archon?" Place is sometimes as significant to Plato as to a tragedian, but, in general, his interest in the dramatic aspect of dialogue was not great enough to make him spend the care on it which Lucian did.

The audience must know not only the scene of action but the circumstances under which the action begins. These may be given by the first speech, in an extra-dramatic prologue, as in Euripides, in a choral ode, as in Aeschylus' *Suppliants,* or in the opening dialogue, as in Sophocles' *Philoctetes.* Or they may be delayed until later in the play, as is the general custom of Aristophanes. Lucian employs exactly the Aristophanic method in *Zeus Rants,* where Zeus expatiates on his unhappiness at length before revealing its cause, which is the central theme of the piece. But the long speech with which *Timon* opens had Euripides for a father,

though its mother was Satire. When it is done, we know everything we need to about the situation except the speaker's name, which follows at once. In *Prometheus,* on the other hand, Lucian is obviously following Aeschylus and, though Kratos and Bia are replaced by Hermes, and though Prometheus himself enters the discussion, in the dialogue, as in the play, the situation is brought out by the conversation of the actors. But these are exceptional cases. In general the dialogues of Lucian need very little exposition, for they do not, like plays, usually begin with situations which the actors are supposed to understand though the audience does not until duly informed. The chance meeting of two gods, the casual talk of two mortals, a tale told by one friend to another, or a miniature drama which begins at the beginning of the story: such are the great majority of these pieces. All that is necessary is to know the names of the characters and, occasionally, the scene.

The naming of the characters is the final problem of exposition. In the drama, the characters could occasionally be recognized by their costumes,[5] but it was not safe to leave the possibility of confusion in the minds of the audience. The theater was so large and the aspect of the characters in their masks so similar that very little could be taken for granted. Therefore a character is always named, when his name is significant, at his first appearance on the stage, though not necessarily at the first moment of his appearance. It makes no difference whether he names himself, as does Oedipus in *Oedipus Tyrannus* (l. 8), or is named by another, as is Creon in the same play (l. 85). There are also lesser characters whose names do not matter, such as the various messengers of Tragedy, the watchman who opens Aeschylus' *Agamemnon,* or the servants whose dialogue begins Aristophanes' *Peace.* In these cases costume and action assist the lines to make clear the nature and function of the characters, and no more is necessary. But Lucian had neither costume nor action to assist him, and the introduction of his characters is much the most important part of the exposition for him. Under such circumstances it might be supposed that he would confine his characters to a few persons easy to identify and shortly becoming as familiar as Punchinello to his audiences. As a matter of fact, in the one hundred and eighteen dialogues he employs two hundred and thirty-four characters, all but sixty of whom are named, though four-

[5] As, for example, Philoctetes, in Sophocles' *Philoctetes.*

teen are mere personifications, such as "Riches," "Justice," and the like.

These figures require some analyzing to be thoroughly understood. A large number of the characters are already familiar to the audience. In the first place, there are gods, among whom Hermes is much the most prominent, being used twenty-five times. Zeus has nineteen appearances, Poseidon nine, Apollo eight, Hera six, Aphrodite five, Charon five, Heracles four, Hephaestus three, Eros three, Athena, Helios, Momus, Pan, and Prometheus, two each. Then there are a number of divine and mythological persons who are used only once, ending with a few characters of the Trojan war: Menelaus, Paris, Achilles, Antilochus, Protesilaus, Thersites, Ajax, and Agamemnon, the first two being used twice each, the others once. Hardly to be distinguished from such quasi-historical characters are the truly historical persons, twenty-three in number, among whom, by the way, occur Hannibal and Scipio, the only Lucianic characters drawn from the Latin side of the Empire's tradition. Most of these are used only once, but Croesus and Solon appear twice, Alexander three times, Diogenes eight, and Menippus thirteen times.

All of the foregoing could be assumed to be old acquaintances of the intelligentsia to whom Lucian catered. He had his favorites: Hermes and Zeus to represent the Olympians whom he was so fond of satirizing, Diogenes and Menippus to represent his own ironical opposition to the established order. But, though he enjoyed playing over the same themes, he liked to get variety by making his cast as large as possible. The obvious advantage of using characters already known to the audience was that merely to mention their names was to call up at once a mental picture quite as satisfying as an actual appearance. So, too, the naming of Truth or Rhetoric or The Stoa would convey all that was necessary about the character. The audience already knew over half of Lucian's characters, then, either as persons or as qualities. To these may fairly be added Lycinus, a name chosen by Lucian, doubtless because of its resemblance to his own, to give to a satiric person whom he introduces into nine dialogues to represent his own point of view. He is close kin to Diogenes and Menippus, and the audience can have been in little doubt as to what manner of man he was.

But that still leaves a large number of characters who are not familiar. The names of a few are descriptive: Cyniscus,[6] the

[6] Κατάπλους ἢ τύραννος, Ζεὺς ἐλεγχόμενος.

Cynic; Megapenthes,[7] the woebegone plutocrat; Gnathonides,[8] the parasite; Lexiphanes,[9] the pedant; Tychiades,[10] the mocker of superstition. Those who are not named at all are sometimes subordinates, almost supernumeraries, whose voices merely testify to the fact that the stage is full. So, for example, in *The Downward Journey,* six of the dead are heard lamenting their fate. They are not named and they have nothing to do with the progress of the piece; they are merely scenery. Likewise, in *The Fisherman,* four anonymous philosophers speak to voice the sentiments of the crowd. Sometimes, however, the unnamed speaker has a considerable share in the dialogue. In *The Sale of Lives,* neither the philosophers on sale nor the purchasers are named. The philosophers are described by their sects, which is just as good, but the buyers are not distinguished from one another at all. But the dialogue is so arranged, as we shall presently see, that they could not be mistaken for one another, and, that being so, Lucian did not care enough about them to bother with inventing names for all seven. Again, in *Icaromenippus* and *Cronos,* the interlocutor is not named because his name would add nothing to the understanding of the piece, though his presence is essential. Now that might seem to be much the condition of the remaining characters who *are* named, but it appears on examination that their names are indicative and of assistance in the appreciation of the dialogue. They fall roughly into two classes, according as they belong to dialogues primarily philosophic or to those primarily dramatic. To the former belong such people as Philo[11] and Philocles,[12] bloodless interlocutors; Hermotimus,[13] an impressive name that suggests Hermocrates and Timaeus;[14] and, at least one, Adeimantus,[15] who is borrowed direct from Plato. Not all the names, of course, have definite philosophic affiliations, but there is a distinct philosophic air about them, none the less. This becomes much more obvious the moment we turn to the dramatic dialogues, where the names come out of the New Comedy. Simon[16]

[7] Κατάπλους ἢ τύραννος.

[8] Τίμων.

[9] Λεξιφάνης.

[10] Φιλοψεύδης ἢ ἀπιστῶν. Another pseudonym for Lucian, perhaps reminiscent of Soph. *O.T.*, 1080 ff., a passage which must have been most congenial to him.

[11] Συμπόσιον ἢ Λαπίθαι.

[12] Φιλοψεύδης ἢ ἀπιστῶν.

[13] Ἑρμότιμος.

[14] Plato, *Timaeus.*

[15] Πλοῖον ἢ εὐχαί; Plato, *Republic.*

[16] Ὄνειρος ἢ ἀλεκτρυών; Plautus, *Mostellaria.*

and Pamphilus,[17] Thais[18] and Doris[19] and Chrysis[20] are familiar to us still, and must have been much more so to the second century. It would be a mistake to attempt too fine a classification, but it is certainly true in general that the characters whom Lucian invents have names reminiscent of philosophy or of comedy. It is also true that, with few exceptions, the world to which the character belongs, as indicated in the name, is a sufficient clue to understanding the person. Therefore, whether the character be a familiar or an unfamiliar one, if he is worth naming at all, the sooner the audience knows his name, the better.

The duty of the author, then, is to introduce the persons of the dialogue. This might have been done by announcing the title, as, for example, *The Symposium, or the Lapiths: a Dialogue between Philon and Lycinus,* or, to take a simpler example, merely *Doris and Thetis.* Indeed, the individual *Dialogues of the Gods, of the Dead,* and *of the Courtesans* are not likely to have had any other title than the names of the characters. With the longer pieces it is different. In *The Runaways,* for instance, there appear Zeus and Apollo, Philosophy, Hermes, Heracles, four men, Orpheus, three slaves, and a woman. A reading of this cast of characters at the beginning would show the audience what to expect, but it would not relieve the author of the necessity of identifying each character as he came on the scene. In point of fact, Lucian does identify his characters by their own words, even in the simplest of the dialogues, with a remarkable consistency. When the dialogue is restricted to two speakers already "on the stage" at the beginning, the simplest method, and the one employed in the great majority of cases, is to have each character, in his first speech, call the other by name.

"Is it true, Toxaris, that you Scythians sacrifice to Orestes and Pylades, and that you have made them gods?"

"We do sacrifice to them, Mnesippus, though we do not believe them to be gods, but noble men."[21]

This is so simple and so effective that it is easy to see why Lucian made it his general practice. There are occasional modifications, to be sure, employed for the sake of variety. Twice a nominative is used, and once an accusative, instead of the customary vocative.

17 Εὐνοῦχος; Terence, *Andria.*
18 Ἑταιρικοὶ Διάλογοι, 1; *cf.* Terence, *Eunuchus.*
19 *Ibid.*, 2; *cf.* Menander, *Periceiromene.*
20 *Ibid.*, 8; *cf.* Menander, *Samia.*
21 Τόξαρις ἢ φιλία, §1.

There are cases also in which the name is replaced by an epithet which defines the character equally well, as when Polyphemus addresses Poseidon as "Father"[22] or Hermes calls Charon "Ferryman"[23] or when Zeus, enraged by the havoc Phaethon has caused, cries to Helios, "What have you done, O worst of Titans!"[24] Micyllus the cobbler, too, may be forgiven for calling the cock "worst of roosters"[25] since, at the moment, he did not know that the bird was really Pythagoras. The effect of all these is the same: the identity of the speakers is made more or less clear to the audience at the beginning.

There are pieces, however, in which the naming of the characters is delayed. Thus, in the twenty-sixth *Dialogue of the Gods,* Hermes is named in the first speech, Apollo, for no apparent reason, but without giving cause for confusion, not until the fourth. In the twenty-fourth *Dialogue of the Dead,* Diogenes and Mausolus address one another at first as "Carian" and "Sinopean," their own names appearing later; in the fifth *Dialogue of the Dead,* Pluto and Hermes are not identified until the third and fourth speeches; while in the sixth *Dialogue of the Courtesans,* one of the characters is known only as the mother of the other, until, in the last speech, she predicts how people will say, "See Corinna, the daughter of Crobyle!" and so reveals her name. There are three cases, moreover, where a name is withheld with a definite purpose. In one,[26] Zeus, having carried away Ganymede, has changed himself back from an eagle to his proper form and Ganymede does not know him until he himself tells who he is. In the second, Pan begins, "Good morning, father Hermes!"[27] Hermes does not recognize his shaggy offspring, and both god and audience are kept in suspense until Pan at length proves who he is. In the third case,[28] the shade of Diogenes had been catechising the shade of Heracles, who maintains that it is only his mortal part which is in Hades, while the true and immortal part is in Heaven. He finds this position somewhat hard to maintain and finally exclaims, "You're a brazen sophist! Who are you?" To which the other replies, "I am the ghost of Diogenes of Sinope, and by Zeus! my real self is not 'with the immortal gods' but

22 Ἐνάλιοι Διάλογοι, 1, §1.
23 Νεκρικοὶ Διάλογοι, 4, §1.
24 Θεῶν Διάλογοι, 25, §1.
25 Ἀλεκτρυών, §1.
26 Θεῶν Διάλογοι, 4.
27 *Ibid.*, 22.
28 Νεκρικοὶ Διάλογοι, 16.

consorting with the aristocracy of the dead, giving the laugh to Homer and hair splitting."

In some dialogues, as already mentioned, there are nameless characters, but only where it will not lead to confusion. In the third *Dialogue of the Gods,* between Zeus and Hermes, Zeus is never named, but his position as Hermes' master and his interest in Io make it clear enough who he is. Then there is a discourse of Nigrinus[29] set in a framework of dialogue. The philosopher's observations are quoted by one character who, as we can tell from an accompanying letter to Nigrinus, is intended to be Lucian himself. But his name is never mentioned, and the other character, a colorless and unimportant person, is called "my friend" or some equally indeterminate epithet. Here the center of interest is the words of Nigrinus, the dialogue being merely an ornament, in which, so long as the characters are kept distinct, it makes no difference what their names are. In *The Cynic,* on the other hand, we have a true dialogue in which the individuality of the characters is very clearly marked though the name of neither is mentioned. Here, at the beginning, one of them is shown by his description to be a typical Cynic. It is he who takes the lead in the conversation, with the other acting as interlocutor, so that their nature and relation are perfectly apparent, even though neither of them is named. In this case the manuscripts give the name Lycinus to the minor character. This may, of course, have been done by Lucian, but it may perfectly well have arisen from the fact that Lycinus is a name, suggestive of his own, which Lucian frequently gives to the one of his characters who represents his own point of view. For that reason a person of such a kind might be so named by some scribe, even though his name was not in the words of the dialogue. In the *Encomium on Demosthenes,* and in the *Argument with Hesiod* as well, one character appears as Lycinus in the margins, but is not named in the words of the dialogue. In the two latter instances this is appropriate enough, for in them Lycinus is the dominant figure, but in *The Cynic* he is not only subordinate but has the worst of the argument; which makes one wonder whether Lucian intended to put himself in such a situation.

It may be here remarked that in the *Amores,* also, the part assigned to Lycinus is unlike the rôle generally played by that character. The name is certain, since it stands in the words of the speakers, but the person so named is represented as a genial

[29] *Νιγρίνου Φιλοσοφία.*

old philosopher, generally surrounded by disciples, and quite without the characteristic Lucianic satire. Apart from this there is nothing in the structure of the piece to indicate whether it is authentic or not.

There remains one case in which a name is ascribed to a character not named in the dialogue. The piece in question is entitled *The Dialogue of Cnemon and Damnippus.*[30] Now the name of Damnippus is never mentioned nor is there anything in the dialogue to suggest its appropriateness. The person's rôle is confined to three short questions and one observation on the tale told by the other, so that the dialogue would lose none of its point if he were left anonymous. But it is hardly likely that a copyist would call an unnamed character Damnippus unless he had some suggestion to go on. It may be that the first two speeches have been lost, a possibility somewhat strengthened by the fact that the beginning is more abrupt than that of any of the other *Dialogues of the Dead,* and that there is no indication of the scene at the beginning, as there is in all the others of this kind. But these indications are much too slight for proof.[31] It may be that the name occurred in Lucian's own manuscript in the heading but not in the dialogue itself, either because he originally intended to introduce the character by name and then forgot to—he had his moments of carelessness—or because, when he came to publish his works he was minded to name characters that were originally anonymous. Probably the likeliest supposition is that the name dropped out of the text through the error of a scribe. In any case, the character is of such a kind that the omission of the name is unimportant and does not injure the clearness of the dialogue.

We find, then, that it was Lucian's general custom, when there were only two speakers in a dialogue, to introduce them at once, either by their names or by an equivalent appellation, using their own words to do it; and that he departed from this custom only rarely when the name of the speaker was not significant or when a definite effect was to be gained by withholding it.

When the speakers are more than two, the problem of their introduction becomes more complicated, and the means taken to

[30] Νεκρικοὶ Διάλογοι, 8.

[31] Another apparent exception is the case of Philonides in *Menippus or Necromancy.* But Professor Harmon informs me that the name does not occur in the manuscripts nor in the early editions, and that its introduction seems to be due to Thomas More, in his Latin translation of the piece. The manuscripts have merely an abbreviation for φίλος which More expanded into Φιλωνίδης.

meet it more various. The simplest case is that of three speakers, all present at the beginning of the dialogue.

"Asclepius and Heracles," says Zeus,[32] "stop squabbling like human beings! It's not proper; it's out of place at the banquet of the Gods."

"But Zeus," objects Heracles, "do you want this apothecary to sit ahead of me!"

Again: "Antisthenes and Crates,[33] we have nothing to do. Why not go off and walk around the entrance to see the people coming down; what they are like and what each of them does."

"Let us go, Diogenes. . . ."

But this is not so good as the previous example, and this method of three vocatives in the first two speeches, somewhat too obvious to bear frequent use, is not found again. In fact there are only a few more instances in which a dialogue begins with three characters. The reason for this is the general principle, which we shall discuss later, that two is the normal number of speakers in this kind of dialogue, so that the occurrence of a larger number is rare and always something of a *tour de force.* These cases are worth individual attention since they show interesting variations on the simple use of the vocative.

Five of them are from the *Dialogues of the Dead.* In the first of these Menippus speaks.[34]

"You two are dead, Trophonius and Amphilochus, but for some reason you are thought worthy of temples and held to be prophets, and silly men mistake you for gods."

To this they make answer that it is no fault of theirs what men do, but Menippus is not called by name until a couple of speeches later.

In the second case Protesilaus is addressing Pluto and Persephone.[35]

"O master, king, our Zeus, and thou, daughter of Demeter, slight not a lover's plea."

"What would you of us, and who are you?"

"I am Protesilaus. . . ."

The third instance is a still better example of characters naming themselves.[36] Two skeletons come up to Menippus:

32 Θεῶν Διάλογοι, 13.
33 Νεκρικοὶ Διάλογοι, 27.
34 *Ibid.*, 3.
35 *Ibid.*, 23.
36 *Ibid.*, 25.

"Come, Menippus here shall decide which is the more beautiful. Tell me, Menippus, don't you think I'm handsomer?"

"Who are you? I guess I'll have to know that first."

"Nireus and Thersites."

There is, in this dialogue, the added subtlety that, as Menippus cannot at first tell which is which by looking at them, so the audience cannot at first tell which is speaking by their words. A similar situation occurs in the fourth case,[37] when Alexander and Hannibal are having an argument over precedence.

"I ought to be judged ahead of you, Libyan. I'm the better man."

"No you're not. I am."

"Well let Minos decide."

"Who are you?"

"This is Hannibal the Carthaginian, and I am Alexander, the son of Philip."

In the twenty-second *Dialogue of the Dead,* three people are present, but for the first third of the piece there is no indication that there are more than two. Charon and Menippus are quarreling over the fare. Charon insists that everyone must pay his obol; Menippus declares that he hasn't an obol. A happy thought occurring to him, he says, "Let Hermes pay for me. He delivered me to you." Hermes remarks, "I'd be in a fine way if I had to pay for the corpses too." In this dialogue, as in the one between Diogenes and Heracles already referred to, the Cynic's name is not disclosed until the end, when Hermes tells Charon who his impecunious passenger is.

Like Hermes here, Prometheus, in the dialogue that bears his name, is at first a silent witness of the conversation between Hermes and Hephaestus, who have brought him to the Caucasus to be nailed up. But Hermes refers to him in the first speech as "this unhappy Titan" and there is never any doubt who he is.

The *Dialogues of the Courtesans,* however, furnish three examples of a third person not named but present at the beginning. In the twelfth dialogue Ioessa cries, "Will you behave so to me, Lysias?" which is the beginning of a long reproach for his deserting her. She concludes, "Pythias shall judge between us. What? Are you going to leave me without answering? O Pythias! See how Lysias treats me!"

"What hardness of heart, not to soften when you cry!" says Pythias. "He's a stone, not a man,—But, to tell the truth,

[37] Νεκρικοὶ Διάλογοι, 12.

Ioessa, you've spoiled him." Here it must be remarked that, although all the characters are named in the first two speeches, it is only at the end of a first speech of considerable length that one is aware that there are three people concerned.

A close parallel to this is found in *The Double Indictment, or Trial by Jury* which opens with a long complaint by Zeus on the hard lot of the gods. So far as its effectiveness goes, it might well be a soliloquy, needing no audience, but when he is through we find that Hermes has been a sympathetic listener, and presently a speech of Zeus to Justice shows that she, too, has been there all along. While these are both named as soon as there is any need for them, it must be confessed that Lucian's handling of them is inferior to most of his other beginnings.

But to return to the *Dialogues of the Courtesans,* the twenty-second is very similar to the twelfth.

"You are marrying the daughter of Phidon the shipbuilder, Pamphilus! Indeed they say you're married already. All those oaths you swore and all your tears go for nothing and you have forgotten Myrtion now. . . ." This has the advantage, over the first speech in the previous case, of making both the characters known at once; but it is not until the fifth speech that the third person is introduced, this time Doris, a slave, on whom her mistress calls to repeat the evidence of Pamphilus' marriage.

In the thirteenth dialogue it is quite evident that there are three characters, but the third is not identified at once. The *miles gloriosus,* Leontichus, and his henchman, Chenidas, are discussing the warrior's great deeds.

"In the battle against the Galatians, Chenidas, tell how I rode out ahead of the rest of the cavalry on a white horse. . . ." Obviously, then, there is an audience, but it is only after a particularly sanguinary tale of prowess that we hear from someone who is quite evidently neither of the original two.

"How can you, Leontichus, tell these bloody, awful things about yourself!—I'm going away." Then we learn, from the protests of Leontichus, that it is a girl named Hymnis whom he had expected to impress with his reminiscences.

In *The Assembly of the Gods,* also, an unnamed audience is indicated. There is evidently a crowd on the stage, though the speakers are only three.

"Stop grumbling, gods, and getting off into corners and whispering to each other if you're angry because many come to our banquet that have no business to. Since we've called a meeting

about it let everyone say right out what he thinks and state his case. Proclaim the assembly, Hermes, according to law.'' Thus Zeus, whose words leave no doubt as to who he is.

''Oyez! Silence! Which of the duly accredited gods wishes to speak? The question for discussion is immigrants and foreigners.''

''I do, Zeus, I, Momus, if you'll let me speak.''

In this dialogue it is to be noted that Hermes' proclamation is his only contribution; thereafter the conversation is left to Momus and Zeus. The immigrants, it transpires, are deified mortals such as Heracles and Dionysus; the foreigners, the imported gods of Egypt and Asia.

In three of the *Dialogues of the Sea*[38] one character speaks for a group, somewhat as Momus does for the other gods. For example,[39] Triton addresses the Nereids, but the conversation is between him and Iphianassa alone until the very end, when Doris adds a remark.

The Ship, or the Wishes, a particularly delightful dialogue, has perhaps the most cleverly wrought of the introductions.

''Didn't I say that carrion in the open would escape the vultures sooner than a strange sight Timolaus, even if he had to go to Corinth to see it without stopping to take breath? You're such a sightseer and so tireless in this sort of thing.''

''What do you expect, Lycinus, when I had nothing to do and heard that this huge, tremendous ship, one of the grain ships from Egypt to Italy, had sailed into the Piraeus? And I have no doubt that you and Samippus, here, too, have come from the city just to see the craft.'' Here the scene is set in two speeches, and with the use of one vocative all three characters are named. Moreover, Lycinus' next speech, ''Yes, by Zeus, and Adimantus of Myrrhinus was with us, but I don't know where he is now,'' paves the way for Adimantus to join the party a little later.

Zeus Rants begins with three characters and adds a fourth, but in this case Hera, unlike Adimantus, has been present from the beginning. Hermes leads off with a burst of trimeter:

> O Zeus, why mutter so and pace about
> All pale and philosophic? What's amiss?
> Tell me thy trouble, let me bear it too.
> Scorn not the prattle of thy servant boy.

[38] 8, 9, 14.
[39] 14.

Athena follows in hexameter:

Yea, most mighty of gods, our father, the offspring of Cronos,
I too plead with thee, I, the flashing-eyed Tritogenia.
Hide not thy thought in thy mind, but speak, so that we may know also
What is the care that afflicts thee, consuming thy mind and thy spirit,
Why thou groanest aloud, thy fair cheeks sickly with pallor.

Zeus returns to the dramatic verse:

There is no awful thing that can be told,
There is no pain nor tragic circumstance
That is not ten iambics less than mine.

It is evident here that the speaker is Zeus, replying, after a fashion, to the entreaties of his children. Athena's characterization of herself as γλαυκῶπις and Τριτογένεια identify her. But Hermes is not so evident. His reference to himself as the οἰκέτης of Zeus would probably be enough for anyone acquainted with the constitution of Lucian's Olympus,[40] but, in any case, we hear no more from him for some time and, when he next speaks, he is addressed by name. Meanwhile his place is presently taken by Hera who says, in plain prose, that she knows what's the matter with Zeus: he's in love again. Both words and manner are unmistakably those of his petulant and unpoetic spouse, although it is five speeches later that her name is mentioned for the first time. In this dialogue the author is certainly less explicit than usual, but that is obviously because he does not want to sacrifice the amusement of parodying Homer and quoting Euripides for the sake of details of structure.

There are but four other examples of dialogues opening with more than three characters, and two of them are from the *Dialogues of the Dead.* The third is *The Fisherman, or the Dead Come to Life,* which will be dealt with hereafter, but of which it may be said at this point that it stands alone in its disregard of Lucian's customary technique. The fourth is *The Judgment of the Goddesses,* in which Zeus begins with a command to Hermes to take the three goddesses to Paris to be judged. They are all presently addressed by name, but even without that there could be no doubt about who they are.

The second *Dialogue of the Dead* is started with a protest.

"Pluto, we can't stand Menippus!" This is immediate notice that there are at least four persons involved. Pluto asks,

[40] *Cf., e.g.,* the twenty-fourth *Dialogue of the Gods,* where Hermes complains to Maia at length about the miseries of being the immortals' messenger boy.

"What injury does your fellow-corpse do you?"

"When we are weeping and wailing, remembering things in the world above, Midas here his gold, Sardanapalus his great luxury, and I, Croesus, my treasures, he laughs and abuses us, calling us slaves and rubbish, and sometimes he sings and upsets our lamentations, and altogether he's a nuisance."

When asked about this, Menippus admits that it is true and stoutly maintains that he will continue to do it. So the dialogue ends with him jeering as his victims lament.

"Ye gods! How many possessions, and how great!"

"What gold was mine!"

"What luxury was mine!"

Here the speakers are not only named, but also so described that their later words identify them. It is remarkable, too, that they are all introduced in the first three speeches.

In the nineteenth *Dialogue of the Dead,* on the other hand, the speakers are brought in one at a time.

"What are you choking Helen for, Protesilaus?"

"Because I died through her, Aeacus. . . ."

"Then blame Menelaus who took you to Troy on account of his wife."

"True. *He* is to blame."

"Not I, my good fellow, but Paris with much more justice. . . ."

"Better still. So you, O vile Paris, I shall never let out of my hands."

But Paris pleads that he was compelled by Eros, and Aeacus, on behalf of the absent Eros, reminds Protesilaus that, whatever the cause of the war, he went to Troy of his own free will, and he realizes that Fate ordered it all from the beginning so that not even he is to blame and there is no one to wreak his vengeance on.

It will be noticed that Helen is present but does not speak. In her case lack of breath might be urged, but, as a matter of fact, on several occasions mute characters are brought on the stage. One other example of this will suffice.[41]

"Throw this pirate Sostratus into the Pyriphlegethon, have the temple robber torn to pieces by the Chimaera, put the tyrant alongside of Tityus, Hermes, and let his liver be torn out by the vultures too. And you virtuous ones go away quickly to the Elysian field and live in the Islands of the Blest, because you did justice in your lives." So speaks Minos, the summary court of the underworld. But Sostratus protests and, since he proves himself more sophist than pirate, Minos reverses the decision in his

[41] Νεκρικοὶ Διάλογοι, 30.

case and bids Hermes unbind the prisoner. Hermes has nothing to say, and he is only spoken to once at the beginning and once at the end, but his presence certainly adds to the dramatic interest of this very lively dialogue. However, such use of mutes belongs rather to the technique of scene setting, which will be discussed later.

This question of the naming of characters at the beginning has been treated at some length because it appears that, with the exception of Damnippus already noted, in every case the persons who start the dialogue are identified in the words of the piece, unless they are intended to be merely anonymous speakers; that the identification is generally made at once; and that, whenever it is long delayed, it is done for a definite purpose. Whether the exception is real or only apparent, the care and versatility spent on the rest of the dialogues to make the *dramatis personae* clear without the necessity of the author's naming them beforehand lead one to conclude that Lucian actually dispensed with every such preliminary naming and let his dialogues speak for themselves. Surely such a dramatic economy would have been a great pleasure to audiences so enamored of finesse as his were.

The problem of bringing people on the stage after the dialogue has started is a somewhat different one. An initial cast of characters would not help here, for the mere knowledge that Hermes is coming later will not suffice the audience unless they have some means of telling when he actually does come. The author must either interrupt his dialogue to say, "Enter Hermes," or so arrange the speeches that they make the announcement for him. Moreover, it is not enough now to have another character address him, as at the beginning, if there is not some indication of his actual entrance. Otherwise his position is merely that of a person present from the beginning but not mentioned.

To illustrate Lucian's practice we may run through one of the longer pieces and notice how each character is introduced. *The Downward Journey* will serve very well: it has ten characters, not counting a number of unnamed corpses, and exhibits a considerable variety in method.

The scene opens with Charon and Clotho sitting at the ferry, waiting for Hermes. Charon remarks upon his lateness with some impatience, but presently Clotho sees him[42] hurrying up with a great crowd, among which she notices a man in chains, and one laughing, and one with a wallet and club. Her description of these, which is natural enough, since neither she nor Charon

[42] Κατάπλους, §1.

knows who they are, serves a double purpose: it calls attention to the three who are later to take part in the dialogue, and it gives time for the dead to come up so that Hermes can have joined them by the time she turns to speak to him. The three immortals then proceed to load the skiff, Clotho checking them over while Hermes delivers them to Charon. When she has nearly completed the list she asks for the philosopher Cyniscus.[43] The name can of course, belong only to the man whom she had already seen with the club and the wallet, the regular Cynic costume. He is by her side but refuses to embark until he has seen the man in chains safely on board.

"Why, who is he?" says Clotho.[44]

"Megapenthes, son of Lacydes, a tyrant."

Megapenthes proves recalcitrant, and it is only after long argument that he is finally clubbed aboard. Then up speaks the man who had been laughing.[45]

"Tell me, Clotho, aren't you going to take any notice of me? Must I get on last just because I'm poor?"

"And who are you?"

"The cobbler Micyllus."

With him the cargo is complete, and they are ferried across the Styx and unloaded in the darkness on the other side. Cyniscus and Micyllus are walking side by side when the former says,[46] "See, here's a woman with a torch coming, looking dreadful and threatening. Perhaps she's one of the furies."

"Like enough," says the cobbler, "to judge from her looks."

So, in fact, she is, for Hermes says, "Take over these people, Tisiphone, a thousand and four of them."

By this time they have reached the place of judgment, for Tisiphone says, "Here's Rhadamanthus, who has been waiting for you for a long time." Rhadamanthus commands her to bring them before him and instructs Hermes to act as court crier and summon them in their turn. The cases of Cyniscus and Micyllus having been quickly disposed of, Megapenthes is summoned for trial. This is a longer matter, beginning with a formal speech by Cyniscus, who acts as prosecutor. Since Megapenthes denies certain of the accusations, Cyniscus asks to have the tyrant's bed and lamp produced as witnesses.

[43] §7.
[44] §8.
[45] §14.
[46] §22.

Hermes calls out, "The bed and the lamp of Megapenthes will come forward. Good, they have obeyed!"

Rhadamanthus questions first one and then the other, and, on the strength of their testimony, pronounces sentence against Megapenthes, with which the dialogue closes.

It will be seen that there are here two methods of including another character in the dialogue: he may be seen off stage, as are Hermes and the dead, Tisiphone, and Rhadamanthus; or he may be summoned to appear like the bed and the lamp. Of these the first is the simplest and the one most often employed. It is borrowed from the drama, where a character is frequently seen and commented on before he enters.[47] The device has the merit of being unobtrusive, because "Here comes Hermes!" is a perfectly natural remark and gives the necessary information without any sense of artificiality. It is capable of a certain amount of variety, too. Hermes, for example, is known to both Charon and Clotho and is therefore identified as soon as he is seen. On the other hand, neither Cyniscus nor Micyllus know Tisiphone; she is described off stage, but not identified until after her entrance. Again, in *The Double Indictment,* Justice and Hermes have reached the Areopagus where court is to be held. The latter is just about to go to the Acropolis to make proclamation when Justice says, "Don't go away until you tell me who this is coming with the horns and the pipe and the shaggy legs." To which he replies, "Why, don't you know Pan? . . ." So that the person to see the newcomer first is not the one to name him. With some slight differences, all the examples are based on the same principle: the person to be introduced is identified before he enters, so that the audience may be prepared for a new participant in the dialogue and may know who he is. In all cases where he is to be named it is done either before his entrance or at least as soon as he joins the conversation.

The device of summoning characters to appear is merely an extension of this method. In *The Double Indictment*[48] a crowd of litigants comes in response to Hermes' proclamation, and, from the crowd, various ones are selected to have their cases tried. Likewise in *The Sale of Lives,*[49] the buyers gather at the announcement of an auction of philosophies, and then come forward one at a time to make their bids as the philosophies are summoned

[47] *E.g.,* in the seven plays of Sophocles there are twenty-three of the characters whose coming is announced before their first entry.

[48] Δὶς κατηγορούμενος, §12.

[49] Βίων πρᾶσις, §1.

one by one. In *Zeus Rants*[50] Hermes calls a general assembly of the gods to which they respond in great numbers. Each time the summons serves to introduce the new characters, but, though the result is perfectly satisfactory, opportunities for its use are obviously rare.[51]

After the characters are all introduced, Lucian is confronted by a problem unknown to the dramatists. How is the audience to be sure as to which of them is speaking? A reading of any of the dialogues, particularly one of the briefer ones where the speeches are short, will make it obvious that it would be intolerable to hear them interspersed with, "Zeus says,"—"Hera says." Lucian knew perfectly well how to write dialogues of that kind, and has left us a number of pieces in which a conversation is quoted. With these we are not here concerned, but it may be remarked that if the speaker is to be named each time it is much better to have someone in the dialogue do it, for the sake of preserving the dramatic illusion. Of this Lucian was quite aware, and he chose to write what we may call true dialogue instead of the quoted kind, for his most dramatic creations, because he felt it to be more vivid and more artistic. But if he did not name the speakers himself, either he must indicate them by his tone without naming them, or the speeches themselves must show who is speaking.

How far he could have employed the first of these alternatives it is impossible to say. We can set obvious limits. Any competent reader would make a distinction between Justice speaking to Pan, and Hermes making a proclamation.[52] On the other hand, the most skillful of readers would not attempt to distinguish between two ocean nymphs.[53] In between, there are innumerable subtleties of tone, with perhaps some help from pose and gesture which would assist the understanding of the piece, probably without attracting the conscious attention of the audience. It would be most interesting to have the testimony of someone from those audiences, though, even then, we should hardly be able to judge how much was studied, how much instinctive with Lucian. But the sole testimony we have is his own. We can only remember that he was trained as an entertainer and was highly successful in that rôle, and guess that in many a place the intangible power

[50] Ζεὺς τραγῳδός, §6.

[51] A partial analogy from the drama may be found in Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 566, where Athena bids the herald make proclamation and the judges take their places on the Areopagus.

[52] Δίς κατηγορούμενος, §12.

[53] Ἐνάλιοι Διάλογοι, 1.

of his voice and presence supplied the deficiencies of the written words.

He adheres to the general rule, nevertheless, of making the speeches themselves show who the speakers are, as analysis of the dialogues will prove. First, and most obvious, a speaker may name himself. Indeed, this is so obvious that it requires very careful motivation to keep it from seeming artificial, and, in consequence, it is rare. The announcement may be made in reply to a question, as in the case of Heracles and Diogenes, already referred to.[54] This is the commonest and the easiest form because satisfying the ignorance of another character is excuse for satisfying the ignorance of the audience. Similarly, in *The Assembly of the Gods,* when Hermes asks if anyone wants to speak, Momus replies, from the crowd, "I do, Zeus, I, Momus. . . ."[55] There are also occasional instances where the character gives his name unasked. For example, in *Zeus Rants,* Hermes has called a council of the gods and is showing them to their seats. This occasions some difficulty, since Zeus has directed him to seat them according to the value of their material, an arrangement much to the advantage of the rich barbarian idols, and one which causes much disgust among the fine old marble deities of Greece. Poseidon, placed behind Anubis, cries out in a temper, "What justice is there, Hermes, in this dog-faced Egyptian sitting ahead of me, who am Poseidon?"[56] His indignation makes natural the vaunt which tells who he is. Aphrodite resorts to sophistry.[57] "Well Hermes, take me and put me somewhere in the front row. I'm golden." And, when he protests that, by the evidence of his eyes, she is white stone, she replies, "But I'll produce Homer as a trustworthy witness, who, throughout his songs, says that I am 'golden Aphrodite.' " Here the quotation motivates the name. Still subtler is the speech of Myrtion already quoted.[58] Her reproachful, "You have forgotten Myrtion now," is a perfectly natural phrase—a fine example of Lucian's delicate skill.

Even without the name, there are speeches which could be made by one person only. When someone says, "When I slew the lion or the hydra . . ."[59] nothing further is needed to prove that it is Heracles. Or the conditions of the dialogue may be such that a

[54] Νεκρικοὶ Διάλογοι, 16; *cf.* above, p. 12.
[55] *Cf.* above, pp. 17-18.
[56] §9.
[57] §10.
[58] *Cf.* above, p. 17.
[59] Ζεὺς Τραγῳδός, §32.

speech can be made by only one of the characters involved. For example, in *Icaromenippus,* Menippus is telling a friend how he flew up to Heaven. Obviously if anyone in the dialogue speaks of things that happen among the gods it must be Menippus. When Zeus and Hermes are talking,[60] commands must come from Zeus; when it is Zeus and Cyniscus,[61] questions about divine affairs belong to the mortal. Here, moreover, pomposity would identify Zeus, the satiric spirit Cyniscus. In the absence of marked distinction between the characters there are still, of course, numerous speeches whose content proves the speaker, but the context is very seldom left without the assistance of some further indication. In the nature and variety of these indications is seen the hand of the artist, and they are worth a somewhat detailed examination to show what care he took that his audience might be able to follow the dialogue without any uncertainty as to who was speaking, which would seriously impair its effectiveness.

If there are but two speakers, each might name himself, but as we have seen, the general rule is that, at the beginning, each should name the other. This practice continues throughout the dialogue, to a greater or less extent. If we know that the characters are Solon and Anacharsis,[62] when one of them says, "O Solon," it shows us at once which is speaking and which will reply. If each speech of a dialogue of two persons were to contain a vocative, the speakers would, of course, be perfectly clear throughout. In point of fact, the piece referred to has forty-seven speeches, and, of these, thirty-six contain at least one vocative. In nine cases there is a second vocative within the speech. It should be mentioned that not all of these are ὦ Σόλων or ὦ Ἀνάχαρσι. The Scythian stranger does always address the great lawgiver by name, but Solon's position allows him somewhat more familiarity, and he uses ὦ γενναῖε twice, and ὦ ἄριστε, ὦ ἑταῖρε and ὦγαθέ each. The effect of these would probably have been as clear to a Greek audience as the name itself, so that they are hardly to be counted as exceptions. When it is added that there are never more than two speeches together without vocatives, and two only twice, it will be seen that the audience had very little excuse for going astray. But this profusion is unique in Lucian. Vocatives are more frequent in his dialogue than they were in ordinary conversation, but they are not used to excess. Perhaps *Anacharsis* is an early work, before Lucian had fully developed the resources

[60] *E.g.,* Θεῶν Διάλογοι, 3, at the end.

[61] Ζεὺς Ἐλεγχόμενος.

[62] Ἀνάχαρσις ἢ περὶ Γυμνασίων.

of dialogue. There is a slightly stiff carefulness about its construction very different from the graceful ease of the *Dialogues of the Dead,* for instance. Be that as it may, in his general practice he is more sparing of proper names, introducing them occasionally, like signposts, but filling in the intervals with less obvious devices for showing the way. Of course, the most important of the signposts are those at the beginning. Thereafter the characters speak alternately, and the audience may be expected to keep the sequence in mind for a time. What the length of that time will be is impossible to define. It must depend both on the character of the dialogue and on that of the audience. We must take it for granted that, considering Lucian's experience and his success, he did not often exceed the limits of easy apprehension. Within these vague limits the author's task is not to name the speaker, but merely to show when one speaker stops and the other begins. Undoubtedly much of this burden was borne by the reader's tone and by the use of appropriate pauses, but much of it, also, is taken care of by mechanical arrangements still able to be recognized.

By far the easiest way of marking the end of a speech is with a question.

"How much higher and more slippery shall we suppose the peak to be, on which this Virtue of yours dwells, than that of Avernus, which Alexander took by storm in a few days?"[63] The next words will naturally be those of the other speaker, and, provided one remembers that Lycinus asks the question, it is obvious that Hermotimus replies.

This method of transition is much the commonest, but it is not always so simple as this illustration. The question may not stand last in the speech but may be followed by an explanatory remark of more or less length. The beginning of the twenty-sixth *Dialogue of the Gods* furnishes a very pretty illustration.

"Can you tell me, Hermes, which of those is Castor and which is Polydeuces? I can't distinguish them."

"That was Castor who was with us yesterday and this is Polydeuces."

"How do you tell them apart? They're just alike."

"Because this one, Apollo, has the scars on his forehead of wounds he got from boxing matches. . . ."

Hermes answers the questions as though there were nothing after them and, indeed, these phrases amount to little more than parentheses. But the practice is not confined to little phrases.

[63] Ἑρμότιμος, §4.

For example, the Cynic,[64] asking Zeus about the power of Destiny and Fortune, says, "Is it equal to the Fates, or is it even above them? I know I hear everybody saying that there is nothing more powerful than Fortune and Destiny." Here, again, it is left to the author's judgment to determine how long such a remark can be without destroying the value of the question. An explanatory speech is not likely to be mistaken for a reply, but, if it is too long, it may make impossible a direct reply to the question, which would show the change of speakers.

It goes without saying that not all questions mark a change. They are not confined to the ends of speeches, and many of them are followed by such an amount of language that, by the time the other speaker begins, their effect is wholly lost.[65] There are rhetorical questions, too, that expect no answer and get none, and questions that are evaded for one reason or another. Occasionally, also, a character will ask a question and answer it himself,[66] but this is very rare. The rule is that, when a question is asked and answered, the answer marks the second speaker.

The effectiveness of this method is illustrated by *The Cynic,* a dialogue of fifty-two speeches in which neither of the characters is named, their identity being kept perfectly clear nevertheless, because almost the whole piece consists of questions and answers, until the long speech by the Cynic, with which it ends.

Exactly the same result may be obtained by the use of imperatives. Obviously, to say, "tell me," is equivalent to asking a question, but, further, any imperative in a dialogue, where it cannot be followed by the appropriate act, is likely to be followed by an appropriate speech, as, for instance, in the eighth *Dialogue of the Gods.*

"What do you want me to do, Zeus? I have come, as you commanded, with an axe sharp enough to split a rock at one blow, if need be."

"Good, Hephaestus. Bring it down and cut my head in two."

"Are you trying to see if I'm crazy? Come, tell me what you want done." But, finally convinced that Zeus is serious, he splits the royal head, and the result is Athena.

The command, "cut my head in two," is quite as effective as

[64] Ζεὺς Ἐλεγχόμενος, §3.

[65] *E.g.,* Ἀνάχαρσις. The first words of Anacharsis are a question: "Why do your young men do this, Solon?" But he then goes on to describe the gymnastic exercises to which he refers at such length that the question is entirely forgotten by the time Solon answers.

[66] *E.g.,* Δραπέται, §3.

a question to show that the next speech is by Hephaestus. Incidentally the passage is a neat example of question and explanatory statement. Zeus comments on Hephaestus' statement first and answers his question second.

This illustrates the possibility of showing the transition by means of the preceding speech, but it may be quite as well shown by the speech following. An assent, for instance, whether or not it follows a question, is clear enough evidence of another speaker.

A question, too, may point to a change of speaker before as well as after. When someone asks, "What do you mean?" it is as evident that someone else spoke before as that someone else will reply. Indeed, an initial question is often quite as efficacious as a final one in showing a change of speaker.

Another useful device is that of repeating a word from one speech to the next, or, its equivalent, of using in the second a demonstrative which shall imply repetition. Repeated words generally occur, in combination with vocatives or with questions, to lend emphasis. Helios, telling of the sad catastrophe of Phaethon, ends, "But he has already paid the penalty, Zeus, and I have suffered enough," to which Zeus, thinking of the havoc wrought, replies indignantly, "Do you dare call it enough?" Even without the question, the emphatic repetition would show the change of speaker. The use of a demonstrative is very common and displays all degrees of efficacy in pointing the transition, from an almost exclamatory emphasis to a bare suggestion of difference in tone.

Instead of implying repetition, the speech may begin with a true exclamation, making a sharp contrast with what has gone before. In such cases, and, in the use of connective phrases such as *καὶ μήν*, *τοιγαροῦν*, *ἀλλά*, *οὐκοῦν*,[67] and their like, we can see clearly that the voice was relied on to produce the essential result, the words being merely devices to assist the effect.

A great deal can be done, moreover, with verbs and pronouns of the first and second person. There are sometimes long passages where the characters are talking about themselves and each other where nothing else is needed to show which is speaking.

By such means as these, used with a variety which it would

[67] *E.g.*, in the first *Dialogue of the Gods*, after Zeus has told Prometheus that his suffering is much less than he deserves, Prometheus says, *Καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἀμισθί με λύσεις.* Here *Καὶ μήν* is used both to introduce the new suggestion and to mark the transition between speakers. A similar duty is performed by *οὐκοῦν* in the ninth. Hermes and Poseidon have been talking about the birth of Dionysus from Zeus' thigh. The former reports that he has carried the baby to Nysa, and the latter sums up the conversation, *Οὐκοῦν ἀμφότερα τοῦ Διονύσου τούτου καὶ μήτηρ καὶ πατὴρ ὁ ἀδελφός ἐστιν.*

be merely confusing to catalogue, Lucian kept his audiences constantly sure of the speakers, without overtaxing either his own dramatic powers or their powers of apprehension. The best demonstration of this is to consider one of the shorter dialogues entire. The seventh *Dialogue of the Gods* will serve.

1. "Apollo, have you seen Maia's new-born baby? How pretty it is! And it smiles on everyone and is evidently going to be very good."

2. "*That* a baby, Hephaestus, and very good? It's older than Iapetus so far as mischief goes."

3. "Why what could it do wrong, when it's just born?"

4. "Ask Poseidon, whose trident it stole. Ask Ares: it slipped his sword out of the sheath when he wasn't looking, not to mention its disarming me of my bow and arrows."

5. "All that done by a little child that can hardly stand up, still in its swaddling clothes?"

6. "You'll see, Hephaestus, if he only comes your way."

7. "But he has come already."

8. "Well, have you got all your tools? You haven't lost any of them?"

9. "I've got them all, Apollo."

10. "Look carefully, just the same."

11. "By Zeus! I don't see the fire-tongs!"

12. "But you'll see them somewhere in the baby's swaddling clothes."

13. "Is he as light-fingered as that? He must have practiced thieving in the womb."

14. "You haven't heard him chattering voluble small talk. And he wants to run errands for us. Yesterday he challenged Eros to wrestle and somehow or other tripped him up. Then while Aphrodite was praising him for his victory and holding him in her arms, he stole her girdle. Zeus laughed—and he stole his sceptre. If the thunderbolt hadn't been too heavy and very hot, he'd have got away with that, too."

15. "You make him out an *enfant terrible.*"

16. "Not only that, but he's already musically inclined."

17. "What proof have you of that?"

18. "He found a dead tortoise somewhere, and made an instrument of it. He fitted horns and a cross-piece to it, and put in pegs and a bridge, and, stretching seven strings on it, played a sweet, harmonious tune, Hephaestus, so that even I, who have played the lyre this long time, envied him when I heard it. And Maia says that he doesn't spend the night in Heaven but goes

down, meddling around, as far as Hades, to steal something from there, too, I suppose. And he has wings, and has made himself a wand of strange power, with which he collects souls and leads the dead below."

19. "I gave him that for a plaything."

20. "And so he has paid you back: the fire-tongs—."

21. "Thanks for reminding me! I'll go off and bring them back, if, as you say, they are to be found in the swaddling clothes."

Setting aside the real merit of the piece, the exquisite badinage, too slight to deserve the name of satire, with which he has refined even the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, let us dissect the dialogue to see how it works.

1. Names one of the characters, and introduces the subject of the dialogue.

2. Names the other character. Moreover, the emphatic repetition of *βρέφος* and *μέγα ἀγαθόν* shows a change of speaker. The question (the whole speech is a question in the Greek) shows that the next words will be those of Hephaestus.

3. Instead of answering the question, Hephaestus asks one in return. Throughout the dialogue we can assume that Hephaestus is generally the one enquiring about Hermes: Apollo the one giving information.

4. Apollo's answer begins with an imperative, but goes on to direct explanation.

5. Another question, in which *ταῦτα* refers to and emphasizes all the items of the previous speech.

6. A vocative, which, of course, shows who is speaking; a verb in the second person.

7. Καὶ *μήν* makes the transition here, which is further pointed by *προσῆλθεν*, answering Apollo's *ἦν σοι προσέλθῃ*.

8. Τί *οὖν*; followed by another question.

9. A vocative, with *πάντα* repeated from the preceding speech.

10. Ὅμως makes the transition, and the imperative shows the speaker.

11. An initial exclamation, Μὰ Δία, with a verb in the first person, *ὁρῶ*.

12. The transition by Ἀλλ', followed by the same verb in the second person, *ὄψει*.

13. This is a perfect example of the importance of the voice. The speech, Οὕτως *ὀξύχειρ ἐστὶ καθάπερ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἐκμελετήσας τὴν κλεπτικήν*, might perfectly well be a statement instead of a ques-

tion, so far as syntax goes. In that case it would seem to be a continuation of Apollo's speech. But the difference in tone in the reading of the first three words changes at once the character of the speech and the identity of the speaker.

14. Here, the second person, οὐ γὰρ ἤκουσας, shows that Apollo speaks. Note also the γάρ, marking a reply.

15. Likewise, the second person, φής, shows that this is Hephaestus.

16. Οὐ μόνον is a comment on Hephaestus' Γοργόν τινα, and the added detail, καὶ μουσικόν, must come from Apollo.

17. A question, in which τοῦτο echoes μουσικόν.

18. Beginning with a direct answer, including a vocative, and ending with a reference to the caduceus.

19. Ἐκείνην refers to ῥάβδον, and the emphatic, initial Ἐγώ shows the change of speaker.

20. Τοιγαροῦν makes the transition, ἀπέδωκε answers to ἔδωκα and σοί to Ἐγώ.

21. The exclamation, Εὖ γε ὑπέμνησας, in the second person identifies the speaker.

This piece does not, of course, exhaust Lucian's resources, but it is typical of his best work, and it is evident that, even tolerably read, it would leave the audience no excuse for going astray.

But not all the dialogues are confined to two speakers, and if one have half a dozen characters it is not enough to show that one is answered by another unless the two are definitely distinguished from the rest. How is this to be done without continual resort to vocatives?

In dealing with the problem of many speakers, Lucian usually employed a device familiar to the dramatists. He split up his conversations into sections including two persons at a time. In *The Sale of Lives* there are sixteen characters, and at one point, certainly, and perhaps for a long time, they are all on the stage together. Yet they are never allowed to confuse the scene. The piece opens with Hermes, under the direction of Zeus, arranging the room for the auction of slaves representing the various philosophies. When he has announced the opening of the sale, a crowd of buyers appears, as indicated by the words of Zeus, "There are a lot coming." At the command of Zeus, Hermes then puts a Pythagorean on the block and asks for bids. An anonymous buyer exchanges a few words with Hermes and then proceeds to question the Pythagorean. When he is satisfied, the buyer asks, "What do you sell him for?" Hermes replies, "Ten minas," and

the buyer says, "I'll take him for that," whereupon he and the Pythagorean cease to take part in the dialogue. There are seven philosophies to be sold, and each episode, with some variation, is a repetition of the first: a colloquy between Zeus and Hermes, then between Hermes and the buyer, then between the buyer and his purchase, and finally between the buyer and Hermes again. So, with a remarkable economy of vocatives, the scene is kept clear, for all the profusion of characters. Of course, there is the difficulty that, if two people are talking in the presence of others, any one of the others might conceivably join the conversation at any minute. But, in actual practice, these lesser conversations have a certain momentum, as it were, so that, when it is understood, for instance, that a buyer and a Democritean are talking, the audience will naturally expect them to continue, until there is warning of a change.

The crucial points, then, in complex dialogues such as this, are the changes from one pair of speakers to the next. In *The Sale of Lives* the audience is assisted by the fact that Zeus is the presiding officer, so to speak, and Hermes the auctioneer, and the words and manner of both are consistent throughout, so that it is easy to tell when either of them speaks. But such marked differences of rôle are not always present, and, if there is a structural weakness in the more complicated dialogues, it is likely to be at some moment of transition. On the whole, however, Lucian is very successful in such places, using now an exclamation or a question, now a timely vocative to guide his hearers from one episode to the next. In the great majority of cases the change is accompanied by the introduction of a new character which lends it emphasis, but a couple of illustrations will show how it can be managed without that advantage.

In *The Judgment of the Goddesses,* Hermes has brought Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite to Paris on Mount Ida to have him decide which is the most beautiful. Paris makes a great show of being incorruptible, but is not unwilling to listen to what may be to his advantage. Hermes conveniently withdraws, and Paris arranges to interview each of the goddesses separately.[68] "Let the other two go away," he says, "but you stay, Hera." Hera tries to bribe him, but, as her promise of the lordship of Asia does not tempt him, he rebukes her with reproachful surprise, and, sending her away, summons Athena. In like manner he presently dismisses Athena and calls Aphrodite. This device of keeping three of the

[68] *Θεῶν κρίσις,* §11.

characters a little distance away makes it clear that the other two are doing the talking.

Again, in *The Downward Journey*,[69] Clotho and Micyllus, the cobbler, have been talking on the bank of the River Styx, Charon, Hermes, and various souls are about, and the ferry-boat is in the slip. When Micyllus has finished explaining how willing he was to die, Clotho says, "Get aboard, so that the ferryman can weigh anchor." The next speech, "Hey, you! Where are you going? The boat's full already. Wait here till tomorrow: we'll take you across in the morning," can only belong to Charon, and so starts another part of the dialogue.

The only cases in which two succeeding pairs do not have one person in common are in the peculiar dialogues with double scene still to be discussed. In these the essential circumstance is that the immortal spectators are listening to and commenting on the discussion going on below, so that one can tell at once which half of the stage a speech comes from. Moreover, in *Charon*, the four persons, Solon, Croesus, Hermes, and Charon, the visiting sightseer, are so clearly distinct in character that almost any speech is recognizable by context. So also, in *Zeus Rants*, the Epicurean, the Stoic, the satiric Momus, and the perturbed Zeus are so different in their attitude that one has no difficulty in telling them apart.

There are, to be sure, cases in which three-cornered conversations occur, but they are rare, and they never last long. They are generally saved from confusion, partly by their brevity, and partly by the unusual care taken with the identification of speakers. Occasionally one will address the other two by name,[70] or address the one and mention the other,[71] which amounts to the same thing. Occasionally a difference in sex will help to smooth the problem.[72] But it would be a mistake to suppose that Lucian had any rule to go by at such times. Each case is an individual problem, with which he dealt as the dialogue demanded and the mood struck him, taking advantage of whatever he could in the situation, and willing to err on the side of slight confusion rather than on the side of obvious mechanism.

It must be remarked here that one of the dialogues, *The Fisher-*

[69] §18.

[70] *E.g.*, Δραπέται, §25. Ἡρακ. Ὁρᾶτε, ὦ Ἑρμῆ καὶ Φιλοσοφία.

[71] *E.g.*, Νεκρικοὶ Διάλογοι, §3. Τροφ. Ὦ Μένιππε, Ἀμφίλοχος μὲν οὗτος. . . .

[72] *E.g.*, Δραπέται, §23. Philosophy, to Heracles and Hermes, Ἄκουσα μέν, ἀκολουθητέον δέ κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῷ πατρί. The feminine participle shows the speaker.

man, does not conform to the standards of the others, either in the matter of introducing characters, or in the identification of the speakers. The stage is crowded, and it is hard to see how any ingenuity on the part of the reader could make it clear who speaks each time. But this exception, puzzling as it is, cannot be allowed to controvert the testimony of the rest, because experiment will show that it cannot be read aloud without confusion, even naming the characters as they speak, unless the reader continually interjects stage directions to the utter ruin of all continuity. Whatever may be the cause of the exception, it is undeniable that it *is* an exception, so far as technique goes, and forms no basis for generalizations about the other dialogues.[73]

There is a second respect in which the writer of dialogues is restricted as the dramatist is not: he must supply all the action and all the scenery. Obviously the most important items of this sort are the entrances and exits. The matter of entrances has already been considered in connection with the introduction of the speakers, and what was said there will cover the question of action as well. When a character is summoned and then speaks, or is mentioned as approaching from off stage, the author has done all that is necessary or, indeed, possible, to make his movements clear. Exits are rarer but they, too, are explained by the words of the characters. For example, in *Timon,*[74] after the arrival of Hermes with Riches, Poverty decides to leave. "I am going to go," he says, "and you, Toil and Wisdom and the rest, come along with me. . . ." "They are going away, let us go up to him," says Hermes. That, of course, informs us of the exit: the fact that Riches is blind motivates the speech of Hermes. In the dialogue between Leontichus, Chenidas, and Hymnis,[75] the girl, disgusted by the bloody boastings of the warrior, says she is going away. Leontichus remonstrates with her; "Wait, Hymnis, wait," he says, and then, "She's gone!" It needs no arguing to prove that Lucian neither preceded nor followed the words with the remark, *Exit Hymnis.*

Besides the methods of introducing characters illustrated above,

[73] This discussion of technique embraces all the dialogues accepted as genuine, together with the *Amores* and the *Parasitus* generally regarded as spurious. Except for the matter of the character of Lycinus, already noted, there is no structural or dramatic reason for rejecting the former; the latter is clearly, if somewhat intangibly, un-Lucianic, not in any technical omissions but in a certain monotony and dullness both of character drawing and of machinery.

[74] §33.

[75] Ἑταιρικοὶ Διάλογοι, 13.

there are only two instances that require notice. In *The Runaways*[76] a woman can be heard singing from a cave before she is seen, as the laments of Philoctetes are heard before he enters.[77] This is merely a variation of the sighting of a character off stage. Finally, once, and once only, does a character who has left the scene in a dialogue reappear. In the twelfth *Dialogue of the Courtesans,* Lysias goes out without replying to Ioessa's reproaches, but returns almost at once to justify himself to Pythias. Her remark, "But here he is, coming back," shows the action, as do also his opening words, "I have not come back on account of *her,* Pythias. . . ."

New characters are brought in with various degrees of skill, for Lucian never achieved consistent excellence of technique. There are one or two places where a supplementary stage direction would undoubtedly be helpful. For example, in the beginning of *The Runaways,* Zeus and Apollo are talking. They are joined by Philosophy, who has a long tale of misery and abuse to tell her divine father. When she has unburdened herself, Zeus turns to ask the advice of the other gods[78] as to what had best be done, and, acting on Apollo's suggestion, details Hermes and Heracles to accompany her back to earth. There has been no indication that any other gods have joined the original speakers, yet, though the first three were alone to all appearances, we suddenly find that they are the center of a sympathetic group of listeners. Again, in *Timon* (a somewhat careless piece of work, so far as detail goes), Zeus bids Hermes take Riches to earth with him, at which Riches protests. There is no way of telling when he joined what seemed to be a tête-à-tête between Zeus and Hermes. But even in these instances, which are Lucian's extremes of carelessness in this matter, the audience could have no doubt as to who the characters are. It is only the moment of their appearance that is not clear.

The introduction of Rhadamanthus, in *The Downward Journey,* already analyzed, is worth a moment's special attention as illustrating one advantage that this form of presentation has over the drama, for he, like Hermes, is described off stage, but, in his case, it is not he who approaches the other characters, but the ideal stage which is shifted to include him. The dramatist is confined by his stage, for, even if the scene should change, it cannot so change as to reveal a character previously invisible. But in half a dozen of Lucian's dialogues he is enabled to include

[76] §30.
[77] Sophocles, *Philoctetes,* 201 ff.
[78] §22.

some new character by that superior flexibility in changing scenes which has already been remarked upon. It requires some ingenuity to indicate business of this kind, but the introduction of characters under this system is perfectly simple: they are seen and recognized, or, upon enquiry, tell who they are, exactly as if they were approaching. It is not a question of action so much as of scenery.

A related effect is achieved in three dialogues by the use of a double scene: two or three characters above supposed to be looking down on another pair of speakers. In all three cases mortals are below and immortals above. This may well have been suggested by the *dei ex machina* of tragedy, but the development is not such as would be possible for the drama.[79] The least elaborate case is that of *Timon, or the Misanthrope.* It begins with a long tirade by Timon against Zeus, at the end of which Zeus and Hermes are heard discussing the matter on Olympus. As Timon has nothing further to say while this is going on, it would amount to a mere change of scene except for the circumstance that they had been listening to him all through his speech, and that they have him in sight all through theirs. The similar scene in *Charon, or the Inspectors,* is better. Charon, having got a day off from Pluto, has come up to see what the world is like, and, at his urgent request, Hermes has undertaken to show him life, so to speak. As the most effective means of getting a post of observation, they pile Ossa on Olympus, Pelion on Ossa, and Oeta and Parnassus on top of that. Seated on this eminence, the ferryman views the world with a contemptuous amusement. He picks out one conspicuous person after another, whom Hermes identifies for him. Cyrus attracts his notice, and he is informed that Cyrus is about to overrun the kingdom of Croesus. So he turns his attention to Croesus, who is talking with Solon at the moment. At Hermes' suggestion, they listen to the conversation,[80] which is a version of the famous interview recorded by Herodotus.[81] There are,

[79] The normal appearance is of one god alone (*e.g.,* Herakles in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*). In Euripides' *Helen* and *Electra,* however, the Dioscuri appear together. There is nothing to show which of them speaks; they may both speak together, but in any case they address the mortals beneath them, and there is nothing in the nature of conversation between them such as there is in the Lucianic usage. Such a conversation does occur between Poseidon and Athena at the beginning of Euripides' *Troades,* but they, surely, spoke from the level of the other players and not from the machine. Their scene is not simultaneous with any other action, and so is, in effect, the reverse of the opening of *Timon.*

[80] §10.

[81] *Herodotus,* I, 29-33.

therefore, two pairs of speakers on the stage simultaneously, the mortals unconscious of their immortal audience. In *Zeus Rants* there is a very pretty refinement of the double scene. The gods in Heaven have been discussing, with some misgivings, the probable outcome of a debate to be held that day between Damis, the Epicurean, and Timocles, the Stoic. The matter is one of deep interest to the divinities, since Damis is bent on showing that they do not exist, and there is an uneasy conviction that Damis will prove himself the better man in an argument. Hermagoras comes running up from Athens to tell them that the debate is about to begin. So Zeus bids the Hours scatter the clouds and unbar and open the gates of Heaven, so that the gods may see and hear what is going on.[82] Thus the stage is actually extended to include the city as well as Heaven. There is a great crowd below, but the two philosophers are the only speakers. Likewise, while the debate is on, all the gods keep silent except Zeus, Momus, and Apollo.[83]

But if Lucian's scenes changed more easily than the scenes of Tragedy or even of Comedy, his characters are very much more restricted as to action. It would be easy to make one of the speakers mention the things necessary for the audience to visualize the action, but some skill is required to make such remarks appear natural. Exclamations are useful for stage directions, because exclamations are not felt to be redundant even when they refer to something obvious to both speaker and hearer. There is a very good example in *The Dream, or the Cock*.[84] The cock has explained to Micyllus the magic properties of his longest tail feather. "You have two like that," says Micyllus. "It's the one

[82] §33.

[83] At the end of §43 Momus says, commenting on a telling speech of Damis directed against Apollo the prophet, "Gods, the man goes on saying just the things that I was most afraid of. (If, indeed, this first sentence is not rather a speech of Zeus, to whom it would be more appropriate. In any case the rest of the speech belongs to Momus.) Now where is our handsome musician?" He turns to Apollo. "Go down and make your defense against him about this." The next speech, "You'll be the death of us, Momus, criticizing now when it's out of place," is ascribed to Zeus in the MSS. But it is much more likely to be Apollo's. In the first place, Momus has just spoken to Apollo and it is natural for him to reply. Furthermore, in his previous speech at the end of §42, in answer to Momus', "I told you so!" Zeus had said, "You did say so, Momus, and your criticism was quite right." It is hard to see why this frank confession of error should be succeeded by petulance so quickly, whereas Apollo, whose poetic prophecy in §31 had stirred Momus to unseemly laughter, might well be expected to resent this further jibe. If this speech is not his, Zeus and Momus are the only divine speakers during the debate.

[84] §28.

on the right," replies the Cock. "First pull out the tail feather,—Hi! You've pulled them both out!" Micyllus excuses himself by pleading that the tail will look better symmetrical, but it is obvious that both feathers came out to give rise to the exclamation which should tell us that the deed was done. When Amymone cries, "Man! Where are you taking me?"[85] it shows us that Triton and Poseidon have sprung from their ambush and are carrying her off. Incidentally it shows which of the three is speaking. So when Demeas[86] yells, "Ow! What's that for?" it is evident that Timon has hit him as he promised. When such a device is not available, advantage is taken of any special circumstance that may motivate explanation from one character to another. For example, in *The Double Indictment*,[87] Hermes and Justice are to go from Heaven to Earth. The passage is supposed to take some time, so the interval is filled in by Hermes pointing out features of the landscape to Justice. This allows the audience to follow their course, and it is made to seem appropriate by the assumption that Justice has not been on earth for so long that she has forgotten the way. The very similar situation in *Timon*[88] is handled, not so successfully, by the easier device of making one of the characters blind. Sometimes the author's ingenuity fails him, and action impossible to visualize is sketched in briefly, notwithstanding its unlikelihood. In *Charon*,[89] Hermes and Charon pile Pelion on Ossa and climb both with a speed which may be satiric but is certainly not dramatic. In general, the difficulties of describing scenery and action plausibly and gracefully are such that the dialogues contain very little of either. But there are occasional episodes which show the author at his very cleverest. Much the most elaborate of the dialogues, so far as action goes, is *The Ship, or the Wishes,* in which three friends meet at the Piraeus, overtake a fourth and walk back to Athens with him, building castles in the air as they go. The whole piece is in Lucian's very best vein—it has a good humor about it, very pleasant in contrast with some of his brilliant but less gracious satires. And there is, in all his work, no defter stroke of scene painting than in the remark of Lycinus when the three finally come up with the absent-minded fourth:[90] "If we hadn't caught you by the cloak and turned you around, you'd never have heard us shouting."

[85] Ἐναλιοὶ Διάλογοι, 6.
[86] Τίμων, §52.
[87] §8.
[88] §20.
[89] §4-5.
[90] §11.

We must conclude that Lucian wrote his dialogues to be read aloud, and to be self-sufficient, relying on the imagination of the audience and on the ingenuity of his work to make them enjoyable and understandable without the necessity of any inartistic interjection of his own personality into the scene. It must be granted that his technique is by no means faultless. There is a general tendency to haste and carelessness toward the end of the longer pieces, and there are occasional slips, even in some of the best constructed. But both in number and importance their proportion is very small, and close study only reveals more reasons for the enthusiasm with which he was received. A technique so sufficient and so subtle would insure the celebrity of any public speaker. His dramatic problems were inherent in the very nature of his medium. The fact that he was a writer of Greek is here a matter of secondary importance, for the problems are independent of the language, and his solutions will stand the test even of translation. The success of those solutions is due to his wide experience with audiences and to his fertile imagination, but, most of all, to his constant, instinctive apprehension of the problems themselves, which is the basis of all dramatic success.

DAVID AND GOLIATH ON AN EARLY CHRISTIAN LAMP

BY PAUL V. C. BAUR

DAVID AND GOLIATH ON AN EARLY CHRISTIAN LAMP

THE Stoddard Collection of Greek and Italian Vases at Yale University contains a most interesting and unique Christian lamp which deserves a more detailed study than was feasible in my Catalogue (No. 653, fig. 118). Recently the incrustation has been removed by a weak solution of hydrochloric acid with the result that the details are now much clearer than formerly.

The lamp is rectangular in shape, but the upper angles are rounded off at either side of the flat solid handle which slopes upward and backward at an angle of about 45 degrees. The handle and the upper surface of the lamp with its reliefs and wick-holes are mould-made, and the juncture with the reservoir for oil is hidden by a thick relief-band. On the under side of the reservoir, which is hand-made, there is also a broad band serving as a standing-base. The greatest length of the lamp is 5⅛ inches (13 cm.), its greatest breadth 3¾ inches (9.5 cm.), its height including the handle 2¼ inches, and 1½ inches without the handle. The color of the clay is reddish-brown, unglazed. The lamp is extremely light in weight for its size. That it had been used is evinced by smoke stains.

On top is a large central filling-hole with moulded rim surrounded by a relief-line, and along the lower edge are seven burners in a row bordered by relief-lines, the upper line serving as a ground on which the figures stand. Up the flat handle, starting at the filling-hole, is a palm-branch with bifurcating end in relief between double lines. At the left of the filling-hole is represented in rather high relief Goliath identified by a raised Greek inscription (*Gouliad*) placed vertically behind him; the two last letters, however, are placed horizontally through lack of space, and should be read from right to left: *ad,* not *da* as stated in the Catalogue. At the right of the filling-hole is David, also identified by an inscription in Greek letters (*Dauid*) running down behind him. The Philistine giant is bearded and only a trifle larger than the youthful shepherd. Both stand with one leg firmly planted on the ground, the other bent at the knee so that the heel is raised. David is advancing to left, but with head and body almost in front view. He wears a short tunic girdled at the waist, and high

boots. From his right shoulder hangs a bag, with his right hand he is swinging a loaded sling[1] over his head, and in his lowered left he holds a shepherd's crook. Goliath with head entirely in profile is advancing to right. He wears a helmet of peculiar shape, decorated with two feathers, a coat of mail in the shape of a tunic covered with scales,[2] and high boots. At his left side hangs a long sheathed sword, in his lowered right hand he brandishes a lance, and in his extended left (not on his arm) he holds a small convex shield with central boss. Two round stones which David has just hurled in quick succession are represented near the shield of the giant, but only one of them will he be able to ward off, the other will strike him in the forehead.

The subject illustrates I Samuel, XVII, 49: *And David put his hand in his bag, and took thence a stone, and slang it, and smote the Philistine in his forehead; and he fell upon his face to the earth.* The early Christians considered the story of David and Goliath as symbolic of Christ's victory over Satan: *in figura Christi David, sicut Golias in figura diaboli: et quod David prostravit Goliam, Christus est, qui occidit diabolum.*[3] In early Christian art, before the seventh century, the subject is rare. We shall come back to this topic later.

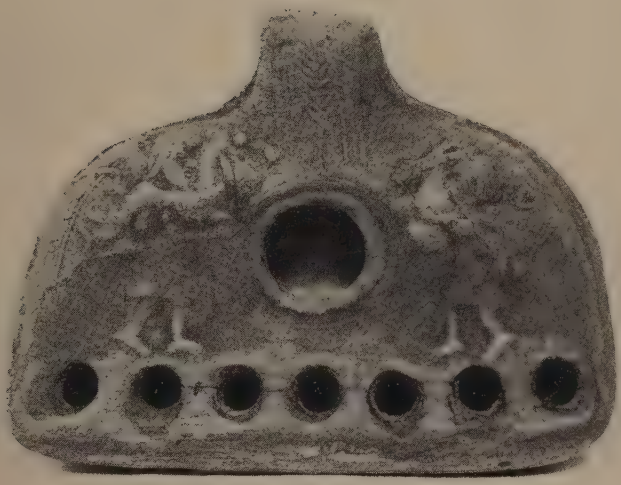
The shape of our lamp seems to be unique; at least I have not been able to find exact parallels. Similar in shape are lamps from Alexandria and other places in Egypt. The one in the British Museum[4] from the Fayum, Egypt, is rectangular, but not

[1] Slingers occur in art as early as the Mycenaean Age, witness the fragment of a silver vase. In the sixth century B.C. the sling occurs as the weapon of Pygmies on the François Vase; that it was used by Athenians in the fifth century is attested by a red figured Nolan amphora and an Attic cylix. On the coins of Aspendus, Selge, Nysa, and Aenianes we also find slingers represented; so, too, on Etruscan and Roman monuments. Well known is the slinger on the column of Trajan who holds his ammunition in the folds of his *sagum.* For illustrations of the monuments cited above, as well as the occurrence of slingers in literature, see Fougères, in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire,* II, 2, pp. 1363 ff., *s.v. funda,* and Liebenam in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie, s.v. funditores;* Baumeister's *Denkmäler,* III, 2059, fig. 2274; Head, *Historia Num.*2, pp. 700, 711, 624, 292, fig. 171.

[2] For scale armor see Saglio, in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire,* III, 2, *s.v. lorica,* pp. 1315 f. XXXV.

[3] Augustine, *Enarratio I in psalm. 33 n. 4.* See also Heuser and Kraus, in Kraus, *Real-Encyklopädie der christlichen Alterthümer,* I, 345 f., *s.v. David.*

[4] Walters, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Lamps,* p. 65 and pl. XV, no. 446, W. Weber, "Ein Hermestempel des Kaisers Marcus," in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos. histor. Klasse,* 1910, p. 23, fig. 5. Weber thinks it is either a genre scene or the transportation of invalids to the Serapeum.



rounded at the upper angles as in our example, and the wick-holes, ten in number, are placed not only along the front edge, but also at the sides. It probably dates from the second or third century A.D. The reliefs on the panel are not yet satisfactorily explained. Of the same date is the rectangular lamp from Alexandria in the British Museum,[5] also with ten wick-holes, six in front and two at each end. In the panel are two snakes with intertwined tails. Dating from the first half of the third century A.D., is a mould for the panel of a similar rectangular lamp, also in the British Museum.[6] In the relief on the panel is a scene from the hippodrome, a victor in a chariot race. The rectangular lamp in Dresden[7] has no similarity to our lamp because it has its wick-hole in a projecting nozzle. Nor do the rectangular Christian lamps from Palestine in the Whiting Collection of Yale University[8] come into consideration, for they belong to the sixth century of our era and seem to be based on a circular type of lamp with loop-shaped handle and rectangular extension for the ornament and wick-holes. Furthermore, they are glazed. The only other example of Christian lamp with seven burners placed in a row has been found at Carthage in the Punic necropolis;[9] it belongs to the fourth century A.D., but is evidently later in form than our lamp.

Now since the closest analogies, as we have just seen, are found at Alexandria it is probable that our lamp was made in the same place, and since the similar pagan lamps mentioned above are of but slightly earlier shape we may safely date it to the third century. The choice of seven burners may show influence of the Hellenized Jews of Alexandria. Although the provenance of our lamp is not known, Dr. Arndt in his inventory to the Stoddard Collection calls it Egypto-Greek. The clay, to be sure, is not Egyptian, for Egypt had no good clay—only mud of the Nile—but there is sufficient evidence from pottery and lamps of Alexandrian manufacture that good clay was imported. That our lamp is not glazed is an additional argument for assigning it to the third century, for in the fourth glazed ware begins and in the fifth century so-called Samian ware, similar to sigillata, with the monogram of Christ is common.[10] Furthermore, influence

5 Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 65, fig. 70, no. 447.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 211, fig. 330, no. 1398.

7 *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1889, p. 170.

8 This important collection, not yet published, was made by Mr. J. D. Whiting in Jerusalem.

9 *Cat. du Musée Alaoui, Supplément*, p. 180, no. 722.

10 Dragendorff, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 101 (1897), pp. 150 f., also Winlock

from Syria became strong in Egypt in the fourth century,[11] and it is very evident that not only the composition of the David and Goliath group, but also the technique of the high relief is of remarkably pure Greek style without the slightest trace of Coptic influence. Only in the choice of subject and its symbolism is Christian influence apparent. Again in favor of the Alexandrian attribution of our lamp is the closely related, but somewhat later, carving in wood from Eshmuneïn in Egypt, now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, representing warriors before a fortified city, interpreted by Strzygowski as a symbolic representation of the forces of faith over the infidel.[12] The foot-soldiers on one side wear tunics of mail, their enemies are in scale armor, the small shields held in the hand and not on the arm are similar to the shield of Goliath on our lamp. The date of this wood-carving may be the fourth century; the style is certainly Alexandrian.

As to the shape of the Greek letters there is no reason why our lamp should not be dated as early as the third century. In fact, the letters are very similar in shape to an inscription of the first century A.D. published by Edgar.[13] The form Γουλιάδ I have not been able to find elsewhere; the Septuagint has either Γολιάθ or Γολιάδ,[14] and on the wall-paintings from Bawît, discussed below, the form Κολϊάθ occurs. For David the following forms are found: Δανίδ, Δαβίδ, and at Bawît Δανεϊτ.[15]

It is not probable that the subject illustrated on our lamp was an invention of the potter. Alexandria was a famous center of painting, and the relief may very well have been inspired by a lost painting or an illumination from the Old Testament. As yet

and Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius*, 1926, part I, pl. XXXII B, and p. 85 (Egypt. Exped. Pub., vol. III, Metrop. Mus., New York); Dalton, *Cat. Early Chr. Antiquities in Br. Mus.*, no. 916, and pl. XXXIII; deWaal, "Altchristliche Thonschüsseln," in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XVIII, 317 ff.

[11] See Dalton, *East Christian Art*, p. 247; Strzygowski, "Hellenistische und koptische Kunst in Alexandria," in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie*, no. 5, pp. 75 f.

[12] *Orient oder Rom*, pl. III, pp. 65 ff.; Eugenia Strong, *La Scultura Romana*, pp. 339 f., pl. LXX; Dalton, *East Christian Art*, p. 189, and his *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, pp. 149 ff.; also illustrated in Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne, s.v. Berlin*, figs. 538-540; see also von Sybel, *Christliche Antike*, II, 259.

[13] *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie*, 1914, no. 15, pp. 32 ff.

[14] See Hatch and Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, III, *Supplement* by Redpath, *Concordance of Proper Names*, p. 48.

[15] See Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen, s.v.* Γολιάθης and Δαυίδ.

not many catacombs have been found in Egypt;[16] the few that are known are not as early as our lamp, nor does the story of David and Goliath occur. The oldest manuscript with illustrations from the Old Testament is unfortunately preserved only in fragments, now in the Royal Library of Berlin, the Quedlinburg Itala miniatures.[17] Although the text is in Latin in the hand of the late fourth or early fifth century the miniatures are evidently older than the text and are based on a Greek model, the work of an Alexandrian illuminator. David as king is twice represented, but the episode of David and Goliath, which may well have been the prototype of our relief, is not preserved.

The collection of material for other illustrations of the story of David and Goliath has been greatly facilitated by the Princeton Index of Christian Art. For the time-saving help of this card catalogue it is a pleasure to acknowledge my thanks to Professor C. R. Morey.

In the Christian coemeteria or catacombs of Rome it is surprising that the story occurs only once, and then in abbreviated form. It is a much damaged fresco on the ceiling of Cubicle III of the catacomb of Domitilla which dates from the first half of the third century, according to Wilpert.[18] In one of the eight side panels we see David standing front view, both feet firmly planted on the ground; he is dressed in an exomis leaving the right shoulder bare. In his lowered right hand he holds his sling loaded with a stone; bag and staff are missing, but Wilpert supposes that he holds in his left a piece of cloth containing the other stones which, according to I Samuel, XVII, 40, he collected in the brook. This part of the fresco is damaged. The sling makes it certain that the subject is the victory over Goliath, but the prototype was a group in which David stands to right and Goliath to left. The dramatic action of David on our lamp is entirely missing.

Dating from the fourth century (about 386 A.D.) is a cycle of

[16] The tomb at Kom-esh-Shugafa was probably made in the latest Ptolemaic period, and was later used by Christians, the walls restuccoed and painted with Christian subjects in the fifth century under Coptic influence. See Dalton, *East Christian Art*, pp. 247 f., *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, pp. 282 f., with bibliography in note 2. See also Theodor Schreiber, in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, no. 15 (1914), p. 9; Kraus, *Real-Encyklopädie der chr. Alterthümer*, p. 439, fig. 147; Leclercq, in Cabrol, *Dict., s.v. Alexandria.*

[17] Victor Schultze, *Die Quedlinburger Itala Miniaturen*, p. 21, pl. V (above), p. 23, pl. VI (below); Paul Clemen, *Die romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden*, p. 156; Dalton, *East Christian Art*, p. 305.

[18] Wilpert, *Roma Sotterranea. Le Pitture delle Catacombe Romane*, Rome, 1903, pp. 356 f., and pl. 55; von Sybel, *Christliche Antike*, I, p. 155 (illustration) = Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, II, pl. 25.

episodes from the life of David on the carved wooden doors of the Church of St. Ambrose at Milan,[19] the earliest cycle of David known to us, but the scene of our lamp does not occur. Goliath has already fallen and an angel of victory is added to the group.

In Chapel III of the ancient monastery of Bawît[20] in Egypt there is an interesting series of Coptic mural paintings in tempera representing twelve scenes from the life of David, and dating from the sixth century. On the north wall of the chapel is depicted a drama in three acts. The first act is the preparation for the combat, David in Saul's armor, the second represents David attacking the Philistine with his sling, and the third act depicts David about to decapitate Goliath with the giant's sword. It is the second act which interests us in particular. Here we see at the left in a landscape of conventionalized trees David (inscribed *Daueït*) standing almost front view with legs far apart on hilly ground. In his uplifted left hand he holds a staff, from his left arm is suspended his shepherd's bag, no doubt filled with stones, and in his lowered right hand a sling loaded with a round stone pierced through the center. His blue tunic, which reaches almost to his knees, is decorated with two vertical black stripes, the *laticlavia;* around his waist is tied a red sash one end of which is thrown over his left shoulder, the other hangs almost to the edge of his tunic. A nimbus, probably as a mark of dignity and power rather than of sanctity, encircles his head. His opponent Goliath (inscribed *Kolïath*), drawn almost on the same scale, but on lower ground, advances to left, brandishing a spear and holding before him on his left arm a large shield; at his left side hangs his sword in its sheath. Although his head is in profile his eye is in front view, as in early Egyptian and Greek art, his body, however, is seen from behind. He is bearded and wears a tiara-shaped helmet, a cuirass over a chiton with long sleeves, a red mantle drawn over his left arm in Greek fashion as an additional protection, and high boots. Note especially that on our lamp the figures of the combatants are differently grouped; at Bawît they

[19] A. Goldschmidt, *Die Kirchenthür des heiligen Ambrosius in Mailand,* Strasburg, 1902, pl. V, 2. For a discussion of the probable oriental origin see Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology,* p. 149; see also his *East Christian Art,* p. 189; Paul Clemen, *Die romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden,* p. 156 and fig. 123; von Sybel, *Christliche Antike,* II, 257 f.

[20] Jean Clédat, *Le Monastère et la Nécropole de Baouît* (*Mem. de l'Inst. français d'arch. orientale du Caire,* XII, 1904), pp. 13 ff., pls. XII, XVII-XIX. A further account of Clédat's excavations is in Cabrol, *Dict. d'arch. chrétienne, s.v. Baouît.* See also Dalton, *East Christian Art,* pp. 246 f., 319; and his *Byz. Art and Arch.,* pp. 283 ff., 257.

are reversed, David being on the left side and Goliath on the right. This arrangement of the figures represents a new type, but that it too shows Alexandrian influence is apparent. In the artistic execution of the figures, however, and especially in the mural ornamentation we see decided Syrian influence. The shape of Goliath's helmet may point even to Persian influence.

Suspiciously similar in many details is the illustration of the David and Goliath episode on the silver dish from Cyprus now in the Morgan Collection, Metropolitan Museum of New York,[21] to my mind a forgery.

A close analogy to the Coptic mural painting at Bawît is the story of David and Goliath in the beautiful miniature of the Psalter of the Bibliothèque Nationale (grec 139),[22] dating from the tenth century, but evidently based on the same Alexandrian model which inspired the painter of the Bawît picture. Here, again, the Hellenistic model was modified by oriental (Syrian) influence. As at Bawît David (inscribed ΔΑΥΙΔ) wears a striped tunic and Goliath (inscribed ΓΟΛΙΑΘ) is seen from behind. David, to be sure, leans farther back; the javelin of Goliath has already left his hand and is flying through the air. As on our lamp Goliath's helmet has two feathers. On the whole there is more action. Further, David is supported by a winged figure, the personification of Power (Δύναμις), and Goliath by Bragging (Ἀλαζονεία).

David supported by an angel, or perhaps the personification of Power, also occurred on a sarcophagus of the fourth or fifth century from Marseilles,[23] now destroyed, but preserved in an outline drawing. Here, too, the group of David and Goliath is based on the same prototype, and the palm trees also point to Alexandrian origin, although the branches are conventionalized as acanthus, a reminiscence of East Christian art.

Again belonging to a cycle of David based on the same Alexandrian model is the very remarkable ivory casket, formerly in the Museo Kircheriano,[24] Rome, now in the National Museum.

21 Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*, pl. VI; for the treasure from Cyprus in general see the references in Dalton, *Byz. Art and Arch.*, pp. 572 ff., *East Christian Art*, p. 328, *Burlington Magazine*, X, 1907, pp. 355 ff.; Cabrol, *Dict., s.v. David*, p. 300, figs. 3623-3630.

22 Illustrated in Cabrol, *Dict.*, vol. VI, 1, p. 1378, fig. 5328, *s.v. Goliath*. See also Dalton, *Byz. Art and Arch.*, p. 468; Clemen, *Romanische Monumentalmalerei*, p. 159.

23 Garrucci, *Storia*, V, pl. 341, 4; Le Blant, *Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*, p. 35, no. 49; Cabrol, *Dict.*, IV, 1, p. 295, fig. 3621, *s.v. David*.

24 Schlumberger, in *Mon. Piot* (*Monuments et mémoires publiés par*

David standing, front view, with feet firmly planted on the ground (head and right hand broken off), staff in uplifted left hand, is attacked by Goliath advancing to left and seen from behind. The conflict takes place between groups of trees, and the action is very dramatic.

An even closer analogy to the Coptic painting at Bawît than the Paris Psalter mentioned above is the miniature from the Psalter in the monastery of the Pantokrator on Mt. Athos,[25] dating from 1084 A.D. Here, too, David is standing, front view, with head turned to the right in three-quarters profile; he wears a girdled tunic and is swinging his sling. Goliath, seen from behind, is brandishing a spear and seeks protection behind his large shield. The landscape background reminds one of Pompeian frescoes showing Alexandrian influence. It is noteworthy that all the monuments illustrating this second type belong to cycles from the life of David. The interest taken by the early Christians in the story of the Psalmist himself seems to have been aroused by the popularity of the Psalms.

It would be futile to discuss other representations of the David and Goliath story on Christian sarcophagi; the figures are so crowded that the combatants stand peaceably side by side and, with the one exception noted above, do not throw any light on the two types of Alexandrian origin. Nor is there any trace of Alexandrian influence on the ivory caskets depicting the duel.[26] On Christian mosaics the subject does not occur before 700 A.D.

In conclusion, we have seen that two types illustrating the combat between David and Goliath have their origin in Alex-

l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres), VI, pl. XVIII and pp. 191 ff. Dalton, *Byz. Art and Arch.*, p. 221; Clemen, *Romanische Monumentalmalerei*, p. 158, fig. 125, p. 160; Venturi, *Storia*, II, p. 603, fig. 429.

[25] Illustrated in Dalton, *Byz. Art and Arch.*, p. 467, fig. 277.

[26] The combat of David and Goliath on one of the panels of the relic-casket at Brescia (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 442; Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, I, fig. 275; Cabrol, *Dict.*, II, 1, p. 1153, fig. 1628) represents a third type which probably had its origin in Antioch (see Dalton, *East Christian Art*, p. 208). It dates from the middle or second half of the fourth century. A fourth type of the conflict, probably of Eastern (Armenian?) origin, is seen on the ivory book cover of the Psalter of Queen Melisenda in the British Museum, dating from the twelfth century (Clemen, *Romanische Monumentalmalerei*, p. 166, fig. 134; see also Dalton, *East Christian Art*, pp. 218, 309, and his *Byz. Art and Arch.*, pp. 231 ff. A unique representation of the conflict in which Goliath is riding a horse occurs on one of the twelve sides of an ivory casket in the Cathedral of Sens (Venturi, *Storia*, III, p. 369, fig. 353; Dalton, *East Chr. Art*, p. 219, *Byz. Art and Arch.*, pp. 234 f. "A western work translating East Christian models into a new language," according to Dalton.

andria, the one exemplified by our lamp on which Goliath advances to right and David to left. It is the only purely Greek representation of the subject. The other type reverses the figures, Goliath advances to left and David to right. Here, too, the Alexandrian prototype is lost. Our oldest extant example of the second type is the Coptic mural painting of the sixth century at Bawît, Egypt, where already strong Syrian influence is felt. Based on the model of the second type, but also under oriental influence, are two Psalters, the one in Paris of the tenth century and the other on Mt. Athos, a century later.

Before the time of Constantine the subject of the conflict, as seen on our lamp, was symbolic of Christ's victory over Satan, and of redemption through our Lord. With the toleration of Christianity in the fourth century symbolism gives way to the open illustration and dogmatic treatment of sacred subjects. Now for the first time cycles from the life of David occur, no doubt because of his popularity as the writer of the Psalms.

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF HELLENISTIC KINGSHIP

BY ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF HELLENISTIC KINGSHIP

FROM the close of the fifth century before Christ the city state began to fail to satisfy the political needs of the Greeks, and the sense of failure forced men to seek some other basis of government than democracy. In practical politics aristocratic Sparta was able to overthrow the badly disciplined armies of the democratic states, and the hatred she won thereby was tempered by the keenest admiration and envy. Oligarchies and tyrannies were springing up on every hand. At the same time political theorists searched for remedies in the study of various state forms and of the fundamental character of man. Whatever the solution proposed or implied, nearly all agreed that democracy would never be the ideal outcome. No passage of Plato's almost fatalistic discussion of the degeneration of states is written with deeper feeling than his description of the inevitable chaos that must succeed any attempt to regulate society on a democratic principle. Years later Dio Chrysostom looked back upon Greek democracy and said that it was the ideal organization of society, but of all forms the one the least possible of realization. For it was based upon the hope of founding an equitable and legal constitution upon self-control and virtue in the mob, so that while democracy was a fair word and gentle, the thing itself withal was impossible.[1]

The solutions offered by political philosophers in the century preceding Alexander are too familiar to need detailed description. Many turned wistful eyes to the great king of Persia, not aspiring to be his subjects, but longing for the unity and order which his absolutism and broad sway guaranteed to his subjects. Even from the time of Herodotus the deepest sympathy was expressed with the Persian point of view that if only the king is virtuous, monarchy is the ideal polity.[2] The highest idealization of the Persian monarchy is, of course, that of Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia*. With his eyes on Cyrus and Sparta alike, his ideal state is clearly that dominated by an absolute ruler who surpasses his subjects in every way, physically, mentally, and morally. Plato and Aristotle followed the Socratic tradition,

[1] *Dio*, III, 47 (ed. Budé, I, 52).
[2] *Herod.*, III, 82.

for they recognized that the ideal government is that of the philosopher king, but clung at the same time to two outworn phases of Greek politics, the conception of the city state as the unit of government, and the hope of educating enough people so that there could be a true aristocracy, with a large ruling class of high integrity. These conservative and idealistic solutions were all reached from a socialistic approach to the problem. Over against them were the philosophers whose criterion and unit in all things was the individual. The Cynics and Cyrenaics turned into themselves, either contemning or tolerating the actual organization, but directing men to find their kingdom in themselves, and their citizenship in the cosmos, for local politics and laws must always be absurd. The Sophists expressed their individualism by glorifying the potentialities and achievements of the man who is able to master his fellows by the sheer force of his personal power. True predecessors of Nietzsche, they invited him who could to dominate his weakling fellows, while they described all constituted law as simply the frightened attempt of the inferior herd to put shackles upon the naturally superior individual. Natural equality was to them the greatest of absurdities. As Plato and Aristotle in the name of natural law desired to establish a state balance with philosophers, or a supreme philosopher, in power, the Sophists appealed to natural law for the right of the strong to enslave the weak.[3]

During Philip's reign it is familiar that the Greeks took two characteristic attitudes toward the threat of his domination. There were the fierce defenders of the autonomy of the city state, and of democratic institutions; another group, however, looked by no means with dismay at the possibility of Philip's conquest.[4] Aeschines and Isocrates, who come at once to mind, represented a school of Greek thinkers who were trying to harmonize many of the current theories. It is Isocrates' repeatedly expressed conviction that the rivalries of the cities had run their course. In Philip he saw the saving principle, and hailed him as having a right to dominate all Greece, *κατὰ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν, ἣν εἶχεν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.*[5] To this he shortly adds that he is urging Philip *ἐπὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ*

[3] See especially Plato's *Gorgias*, 482 c ff.

[4] Besides Polybius' testimony it will be recalled that Demosthenes says that the people of Thessaly and Thebes *φίλον, εὐεργέτην, σωτῆρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο· πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς.* See Paul Wendland, Σωτήρ, in *Zeitsch. f. d. neutest. Wissenschaft.*, V (1904), 338.

[5] *Philip.*, 114.

πραότητας,[6] words which are to have increasing importance as official titles justifying the right of rulership. Isocrates, however, has not only Philip to commend. He is pleased with every tyrant or king who rules his subjects well.[7] At the same time he has many passages where he turns back with regret to the government of Athens when democracy was at its best. Which of these represents Isocrates' true attitude? Was he sincere in his protests of love for democracy and at the same time in his exhortations to kings and tyrants to do their best in ruling their cities or countries? With this question we need not be concerned. The important point is that in his writings the theorizing of Socrates, Plato, and Xenophon about kings is applied to practical politics. His appeal to Philip is accompanied by exalted descriptions of the true use of absolute power, addressed to Nicocles. Here he recognizes the popular belief that kings are equal to the gods, at least in their powers, if not in person (c. 5). But the man who is king ought to be supreme personally. He is to be a model to others in virtue (c. 31), to guide his conduct alike by the theory of philosophy and the practical sagacity of experience (c. 35), and the recognition that true kingliness consists in ruling over oneself (c. 29). In relation to the existing law, the king must not live lawlessly (c. 31), and must so modify and improve the laws that they will be just, consistent, and capable of direct and speedy application, while the king's own judgments are to be as fixed and just as the best of laws (c. 18). Isocrates praises Evagoras as being such a monarch. Of Nicocles he is not so sure, and therefore recommends him, if he cannot be a philosopher himself, to learn to take counsel from the philosophers in his kingdom (c. 50 ff.). In all this it is notable that Isocrates, the pupil of Gorgias, does not once approach the problem of royalty or tyranny from the point of view of the Sophists. The right of the strong to assert himself is never hinted. The sanction of monarchy is the legal, moral, and philosophical character of the ruler and his actions.

Then came Alexander, and the floodgates of Greece were opened to oriental and Egyptian political and religious conceptions. Unfortunately, reliable and datable evidence becomes more rare as these new elements make the problem complex. On the religious syncretism of the Hellenistic royalty much interesting new light is being thrown every year. But what of the king and his subjects from the point of view of political philosophy? What

[6] *Philip.*, 116.
[7] Like Xenophon's *Hiero.*

was the sanction of his rulership? What right had he to override the laws of the Greek city states? As Professor Rostovtzeff has remarked, we know increasingly how the king made his peace with the religious systems of Greece, but how did he satisfy the political philosopher?

The problem has been very much confused by the generalizations of Kaerst, the only man who has investigated the problem with any degree of thoroughness. It is his well-known thesis that the monarchy in its philosophical aspects, aside from its religious significance, rested upon two primary teachings of Stoicism: first, the right of the man who is superior in virtue to rule over his fellows; second, the value of a world monarchy to correspond to the cosmic rulership of Zeus or of the Stoic natural law. But an examination of Kaerst's evidence, from that in his earlier articles to the references in the 1926 edition of his *Geschichte des Hellenismus,* reveals the fact that the bulk of his evidence is very late, while most of the earlier citations prove to have little reference to the subject. It is beyond the scope of this essay to review or refute his work. There is need for a study *de novo* of the conception of royalty in Greek civilization. My immediate purpose is only to point out a body of evidence of which Kaerst takes no account, and which heretofore has not been discussed at all for its bearing on the subject.

There is good reason for thinking that during the Hellenistic period there was much philosophical discussion of the kingly office. For example, Demetrius Phalereus is reported to have said to Ptolemy the king that he ought to prize and read the books *περὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας.* "For what friends do not dare to say to kings they write in books."[8] Cicero wrote to Atticus of certain men who sent letters of counsel to Alexander, a youth who had intense desire for glory. Alexander had asked for advice, and their advice was "*quod ad laudem sempiternam valeret.*"[9] In another letter Cicero identifies two, at least, of these men as Theopompus and Aristotle, whose *συμβουλευτικὰ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον* he had at hand.[10] Of their contents he tells us nothing. The first of these is in all probability the one listed in a recently discovered catalogue of the library of Rhodes, with the title *Θεοπόμπου ἄλλου περὶ βασιλείας,*[11] for references to the *πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον* are not to

[8] Stob., IV, vii, 27 (ed. Wachsmuth and Hense, IV, 255).
[9] *Epis. ad Att.,* XIII, 28.
[10] *Ibid.,* XII, 40.
[11] Gaetano de Sanctis in *Revista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica,* LIV (1926), 70.

be found until in Cicero and Athenaeus, which gives ample time for a work by some other Theopompus to have become associated with the historian. In any case, the work which Cicero had was clearly a Hellenistic production. The same conclusion is to be drawn about the πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ascribed to Aristotle. It is probably identical with the περὶ βασιλείας attributed to Aristotle by Diogenes Laertius and others,[12] and though the ascription to Aristotle is dubious, the fact that Cicero had the work witnesses to its existence in Hellenistic times. Still another treatise on the subject is ascribed to Theophrastus, of which a single fragment is preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[13] These last three may represent a lost Peripatetic tradition on kingship. A Stoic treatise, περὶ βασιλείας, was written by Persaeus of Citium, a disciple of Zeno, in the court of Antigonus.[14]

It is my opinion that material is available which can properly be regarded as records of this Hellenistic speculation.

First, there is the material ascribed to Archytas of Tarentum, from a treatise περὶ νόμου καὶ δικαιοσύνης.[15] The fragment is too long to reproduce entire, but I give its most important statements from the point of view of royalty.

The unwritten laws of the gods which are opposed by the laws of wicked customs, inflict an evil lot and punishment upon those who do not obey them, and are the fathers and guides of the written laws and teachings which men enact. Law bears the same relation to the human soul and life as harmony to hearing and speech. For as law educates the soul and organizes the life, so harmony makes hearing intelligent and speech consistent. And I say that every community consists of the ruling element, the ruled, and a third element, the laws. Now laws are of two kinds, the animate [ἔμψυχος] law, which is the king, and the inanimate, the written law. So law is primary; for with reference to it the king is lawful [νόμιμος], the rulership is fitting [ἀκόλουθος], the ruled are free, and the whole community happy. But when the law is transgressed the king is a tyrant, the rulership unfit, the ruled are slaves, and the entire community wretched. For action is a combination of the elements of ruling, being ruled, and third, of efficiency [κρατέν]. So it is proper for the better to rule, for the worse to be ruled, but for both to have efficiency. For reason [τὸ λόγον ἔχον] should rule the soul, and the irrational should be ruled; but both should be efficient as over against the passions. For virtue arises out of a harmony of each of these, and virtue

12 See Rose, V., *Aristotelis Fragmenta*, ed. 1, secs. XIV, XV, LX.
13 *Antiq. Rom.*, V, 73.
14 Diog. Laert., VII, 36.
15 Stob., IV, i, 132, 135, 136, 137, 138 (IV, 79, 82-88), IV, v, 61 (IV, 218).

in turn leads the soul out of pleasure and pain into calmness and freedom from the passions [ἀπάθεια].

The fragment goes on further to discuss the place of law in society, but has no more to say of the king until the following:

And the true ruler must not only be understanding and powerful in ruling well, but he must also be a lover of men, for it would be strange for a shepherd to be a hater of sheep and ill disposed toward his own flock. And he must be lawful as well, for so he will have understanding of rulership. For by his knowledge he will be able to judge correctly; by his power, to punish; by his excellence, to benefit; and by the laws, to do all these with reference to reason. And the best ruler would be the one who is closest to the law; but he would do nothing in his own interest, but only for the sake of his subjects, just as law exists not for its own sake but only for those subject to it.

The fragments attributed to Archytas have recently been discussed at length by Delatte,[16] whose work in turn is carefully reviewed by Theiler,[17] so that, important as the fragments are, they can be treated briefly here. Delatte tries to substantiate the genuineness of their ascription to Archytas, and in doing so has collected an extraordinary amount of material to show that the conceptions are all to be paralleled by writers contemporary with or closely following Archytas, especially Plato and Aristotle, accompanied by an interesting demonstration of the Pythagorean character of much of the political theory of both Plato and Aristotle. His conclusion, then, is that in these Archytas fragments we have a sample of the sort of pre-Platonic, Pythagorean political thinking which went into Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy as well as into the thought of Isocrates and the Stoics. Theiler is unconvinced that the influence was from Archytas, but thinks conversely that the similarity of phraseology indicates that the fragments were composed under the influence of Platonic-Aristotelian writings. Yet he recognizes that they are free of any Stoic influence, and so inclines to date them shortly before Poseidonius, when Platonism and Aristotelianism had learned to live together but had not yet been influenced by Stoicism. While any decision between the two hangs ultimately upon a matter of opinion, my own inclination is to agree with Theiler that the fragments are Hellenistic.

[16] Delatte, A., "Essai sur la Politique Pythagoricienne." Liège, Paris, 1922. (*Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège.* Fascicule XXIX.)

[17] *Gnomon,* II (1926), 147-156. See especially pp. 150 ff.

But whether the fragments are pre-Platonic, or are third or second century, their survival is highly important as marking the existence of a Pythagorean interest in the kingly office.[18] Here appears again the old Greek theory that no state law is truly such which does not conform to the eternal principles of morality, whether these be conceived of as natural law with Heracleitus, or in more popular statements as the will of the gods. The political axioms on which Sophocles founded his Antigone are here restated. Whatever the form of organization, a state needs three elements: the ruling machinery of government, its subjects, and, as an independent entity behind both, the law. So far the fragment reproduces classical Greek thought perfectly. But the problem is, Whence comes the law of cities? The lawmakers, Solon and his ilk, were popularly conceived as trying to reduce to writing the unwritten law, by which was meant the ancestral customs of the people, or the will of the gods, or both at the same time. But here an additional form of unwritten law is suggested, that of the monarch, who is himself not only a law, but the vivid representation to men of *the* law, that will of the gods to which all local state law must conform. He seems to have this unique quality by virtue of his office, at the same time that he has it by virtue of his own moral character, which itself must be νόμιμος, that is, in accordance with the higher law, not necessarily obedient to the local laws. One feels at once the similarity and difference in the matter of the relation of the king to law between this statement and a passage of Socrates. Xenophon represents Socrates as distinguishing between a king and a tyrant by the fact that a king rules according to the laws, a tyrant not according to the laws, but according to his own wishes.[19] But the laws which Socrates' king must follow are the laws τῶν πόλεων. That is, the king, like all citizens, is bound by the code. But the writer of this Archytas fragment has in mind a king who produces law for his subjects out of his own nature. He is so superior to the local code that his legality is tested not by them, but by his conformity to higher natural law, and thus by his power to represent it to men. As such, the king must be wise, kindly to his subjects, a good shep-

[18] Delatte unfortunately has little to say about this aspect of the fragments.

[19] *Mem.*, IV, vi, 12. The conception of the true king as one who rules according to the law or laws may well have been Persian in origin. "I ruled according to laws," is the boast of Darius the Great. See *Sculpture and Inscriptions of Darius the Great,* British Museum, 1907, §52, p. 203. Professor Dougherty showed me this passage.

herd to his flock,[20] and thereby stand to the rest of the state as the rational principle stands to the two lower principles in the human constitution. So will he be very close (ἀγχότατος) to the law, that is, to the Supreme Law, and as such be a law to his subjects, existing not for his own sake, but for theirs.

The conception has some familiar aspects. Plato,[21] Aristotle,[22] the Skeptics, and, of course, later the Stoics are fond of describing the truly virtuous man as independent of written code, because he looks for guidance to the ideal law. Such a man both Plato and Aristotle, and the Stoics after them, tell us must be hunted out by all means to lead the state and give it laws. It is best, says Plato, not when the laws govern, but some royal man with φρόνησις, who gives out law adapted individually to each case, rather than dealing with the inaccurate approximations of the code.[23] Plato says further that the τέχνη[24] of the king supplants the codes of law, just as the τέχνη of a skilled pilot throws all rule-of-thumb instruction books to the winds. Aristotle expressed the same idea in his own way.[25] Thus far the value of the ideal ruler who knows the law lies in the fact that he can disperse correct commands to others, while in the Pythagorean fragment the king himself *is* law. Incidentally, like the divine ideal code of morality, the king is the source of human statutes, but he is more than an ideal maker of laws, for he is himself Law. The best ruler is the man in whom this identification is most complete.

A much clearer parallel to the conception is found in Isocrates. Πείθου μὲν καὶ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων κειμένοις, ἰσχυρότατον μέντοι νόμον ἡγοῦ τὸν ἐκείνων τρόπον,[26] which is plain in meaning, except for the last word. "Obey the laws which kings lay down, but bear in mind that the mightiest law is the kings' disposition." "For,"

[20] On the king as a good shepherd see below, p. 84.

[21] *E.g., Politicus,* 300 c., where the ideal lawgiver, who understands the ideal law and writes approximations of it for the mob, need not obey even his own approximation if his knowledge of the higher law leads him beyond his own written code in any given place. *Cf. Laws,* 875 c, where Plato says that the man with divine power to rule over himself needs no laws to rule him; ἐπιστήμης γὰρ οὔτε νόμος οὔτε τάξις οὐδεμία κρείττων, οὐδὲ θέμις ἐστὶν νοῦν οὐδενὸς ὑπήκοον οὐδὲ δοῦλον ἀλλὰ πάντων ἄρχοντα εἶναι, ἐάνπερ ἀληθινὸς ἐλεύθερός τε ὄντως ᾖ κατὰ φύσιν.

[22] *Polit.,* 1288 a, b.

[23] *Ibid.,* 294 a. Stalbaum *in loco* and *Proleg.,* p. 82, mistakes this for a parallel to the Pythagorean doctrine.

[24] *Polit.,* 296 e ff. True government is thus κατὰ τέχνην as contrasted with all actual governments, which are κατά συγγράμματα. *Ibid.,* 299.

[25] *Ibid.,* 1287 a, b.

[26] *Ad Demonicum,* 36.

he goes on, "as a politician in a democracy must court the people, so likewise the one who lives in a monarchy must be in awe of the king." That is, in a monarchy the mightiest law is the τρόπος of the king.[27] The conception is certainly very close to the Pythagorean νόμος ἔμψυχος, but since Aeschines speaks of the τρόποι of oligarchs in the same way,[28] we cannot stress the statement of Isocrates.

Aristotle again makes several statements which sound similar. Chiefly there is the famous passage[29] where he has proved that the usual claims to rulership are not justified, and then turns to make exception in the case of a man or men who completely surpass their fellow citizens in virtue. It is injustice to group him in with the others. As virtuous, such a man may truly be regarded as a god among men. Far from being subject to legislation, he himself is a law. Aristotle, like Plato in the *Politicus*, has little hope that such men will ever really be at hand, and dismisses royalty as an impossibility on that account. Yet later he says that if a people is capable by nature of producing a race superior in virtue and political talent, it is fitted for kingly rule.[30] He does not describe his king as νόμος ἔμψυχος, but only as being Law. Yet that Aristotle may have been familiar with the term is made possible from his calling the judge οἷον δίκαιον ἔμψυχον, "a sort of animate justice."[31] For while the use there is figurative, and is not intended as a statement of the actual nature of a judge, still it suggests that Aristotle may have known the term in a literal sense. Whence had Aristotle this idea of a people who produced unique men for their kings, men who became themselves a law to their subjects? Certainly it is not of his own thinking, for he rejects the whole conception as visionary. It may be that he got it, as Delatte might have argued, from these Archytas fragments. But the general impression of the fragments continues to be that they are late; and so either earlier, probably Pythagorean, teachers of the doctrine must be supposed, or we must seek a people who actually claimed to be ruled by such supermen. It will appear that the latter is the more likely solution.[32]

27 On the τρόπος of the king, *cf. Epist.* of Ps.-Aristaeas, 209.

28 III, 6. *Cf.* P. Wendland, "Anaximenes von Lampsakos," in *Hermes*, XXXIX (1904), 501, n. 1.

29 *Polit.*, 1284 a. The conception is restated in the pseudo-Aristotelian letter to Alexander. See below, p. 92.

30 *Polit.*, 1288 a.

31 *Eth. Nic.*, V, 1132 a, 20 ff.

32 See below, pp. 78 ff.

By the time of Isocrates and Aristotle, then, there had developed a conception that the true king was personally of unique significance as a lawmaker, or even as Law itself. In the Archytas fragment this conception is explained as resting on the fact that the king is personally a representation and revelation of divine-natural law in the kingdom. That this conception was not stillborn is witnessed by other material.

The first witness to call is Diotogenes, of whom nothing is known beyond the fact that Stobaeus calls him a Pythagorean. Stobaeus has preserved from two writings of Diotogenes five fragments in all, three from a treatise *On Piety,* and two from a work *On Kingship.* Two of the fragments from the essay *On Piety* need not be considered. They throw little light upon his general philosophy or his date, though they are thoroughly Pythagorean. Both are very corrupt textually. One[33] falls into two parts,—remarks on the propriety of grace before meat, and a discussion of four cosmic causes, φύσις, νόμος, τέχνη, and τύχη. The other[34] is a practical bit of advice, that one who is truly lawful (νόμιμος) will use the law courts as little as possible, and pay more heed to another's rights than his own. The third fragment[35] from the treatise *On Piety* discusses the proper education of the young which will lead them into true morality. For as laws are ultimately the moral standards of citizens (ἤθεα), so the ἀρχή of πολιτεία is the education of the young. Certainly it would seem that children should be trained with the same care, at least, as young plants or horses, and yet the author complains that more attention and money are paid to get a good groom or gardener than for a suitable tutor for children. The proper education of the child's ἦθος will be found in music and dancing for their training in rhythmic fellowship with others, as well as for their softening effect upon minds inclined to drunkenness and gormandizing. As a supplement to these, games will give training in coöperation, as well as in truth and alertness.[36] This third fragment presents a picture of a city-state consciousness apparently undisturbed by any conception of a higher source of law than the will and conduct of the people as a whole. It

[33] Stob., IV, i, 133 (IV, 79).

[34] *Ibid.,* III, i, 100 (III, 50).

[35] *Ibid.,* IV, i, 96 (IV, 36).

[36] On the Pythagorean use of music and gymnastics in education, see references in Zeller, *Phil. d. Gr.,* I, i (6th ed.), 406, 407. English translation, *Pre-Socratics,* I, 348, 349. This fragment is, of course, strongly suggestive of Plato.

could have been written and received with perfect propriety in any of the democratic cities of Greece. Its Platonic-Pythagorean character is just as plain as its whole feeling is early. The two fragments from the treatise *On Kingship* quoted by Stobaeus from the same Diotogenes present in some respects an interesting contrast.

The first fragment reads as follows:[37]

> The most just man would be king, and the most lawful would be most just. For without justice no one would be king, and without law [there would be no] justice. For justice is in the law, and the law is the source [*αἴτιος*] of justice. But the king is Animate Law [*νόμος ἔμψυχος*], or is a legal ruler [*νόμιμος ἄρχων*]. So for this reason he is most just and most lawful.

Of itself the first sentence would seem to be a Cynic or Stoic statement of the kingly character of every virtuous man. But since in the part to follow, the king is treated as a state official, no such sense can be made of it. Indeed, the paragraph is actually a demonstration that the king as an official is the most just man in the kingdom. Kingliness, says the first sentence, is inseparable from justice. This is a conception long familiar to the Greeks. Says Xenophon's Socrates, "They are not kings or rulers who hold the scepter merely, or are chosen by fellows out of the street, or are appointed by lot, or have stepped into office by violence or fraud; but those who have the special knowledge of how to rule."[38] Similarly, Socrates has been quoted as distinguishing between the terms king and tyrant on the basis of legality, which was in the school of Socrates and elsewhere a synonym for justice. "I say," says Socrates, "that the lawful is identical with the just,"[39] and this Xenophon applies to the king in his statement that the king is *δικαιότατος καὶ νομιμώτατος*.[40] But what seems to lie behind Diotogenes' statement here is the question, how may we know that our sovereign in Alexandria, or Antioch, or wherever he may be, is actually king by these standards? Diotogenes answers by the following reasoning. If justice is a product or function of Law, where there is true law, there is always justice. But the king is himself Animate Law officially; hence, since he is Law itself, he must also be Justice itself. So he is the most just man in the kingdom, for his character is most in accordance with

[37] Stob., IV, vii, 61 (IV, 263 ff.).
[38] *Mem.*, III, ix, 10. *τοὺς ἐπισταμένους ἄρχειν.*
[39] *Ibid.*, IV, iv, 12. *φημὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸ νόμιμον δίκαιον εἶναι.*
[40] *Cyrop.*, I, vi, 24 ff. (27).

the law. The statement, it is clear, does not explain the term Animate Law, but only assumes it, in a manner impossible except in the case of readers already familiar with the expression, whether from a lost part of the present treatise, or, as is more likely, from common usage.

Diotogenes continues:

> The duties of the king are threefold, military leadership, the dispensation of justice, and the cult of the gods. So then he will be able to lead well in arms if he thoroughly understands the art of war; and to dispense justice and to hear out his subjects if he has studied well the nature of justice and law; and to worship the gods in a pious and holy manner if he has reasoned out [ἐκλογισάμενος] the nature of deity and virtue. Accordingly the perfect king must be a good commander, judge, and priest; for these are fitting and proper to the king's supremacy and virtue alike. For the task of a pilot is to save [σῴζεν] the ship, of a charioteer to save the chariot, of a physician to save those who are ill, while the task of the king and captain is to save those who are in danger in war. For each of these is overseer and fashioner [δημιουργός] of the organization [σύστημα] of which he is the dictator.

In the matter of the threefold duties of the king—war, justice, and religion—the functions of the Greek state back to Homeric days are recognized. But for the rest the passage is an interesting development of Platonic conceptions. Νόμος and νοῦς, Plato says in the *Laws*,[41] are intimately connected. He speaks of the procession from the Fates of an undeviating δύναμις which seems intellectual in character, and which must enter into the laws if they are to have health and σωτηρία, just as it must enter into souls if they are to have εὐνομία. In a word, this δύναμις is the salvation of the laws,[42] as it is of men. Plato goes on to suggest that this higher force can be put into the laws by a council of ten elders, who by their character and profound study could act as a supergovernment in the state, a suggestion extraordinarily similar to some of the functions of our own Supreme Court. The σωτηρία of everything depends upon the presence of this intellectual principle, or νοῦς. So every animal has a sort of soul and head, whose virtue is the saving principle of the animal. But the active principle of salvation in the soul is mind (νοῦς), so that all salvation ultimately comes from νοῦς. As νοῦς in an animal expresses itself through the senses of the animal, so on a ship the νοῦς of the pilot acts through the senses of the sailors to save the ship, while

[41] 957 c.
[42] 960 e, d.

generals and physicians similarly control and save by projecting their νοῦς into the senses of their armies or patients. In like manner a true statesman is such by virtue of his supreme νοῦς, which saves the city.[43] It is clear that Diotogenes has taken these Platonic instances of the universal saving power of νοῦς, and applied them to the king. But in doing so he has added the figure of the charioteer guiding his horses, a figure which shows that he was combining this passage in the *Laws* with the opening discussion of Plato's *Politicus,* where Plato describes the ideal king, who because of his βασιλικὴ ἐπιστήμη surpasses all men, and should be given the reins of the city, that he may be charioteer of the state, as well as its shepherd.[44] Plato does not call his king σωτήρ, but the materials were at hand for the easy blending of the two passages which Diotogenes has effected.

The conception will reappear in Ecphantus, but here it is of interest to point out that Plato in the *Politicus* shortly says that so supreme an individual would be a god rather than a man, and so is not to be taken into account as a practical possibility. Diotogenes, however, is apparently describing the actual king, and it is interesting to see that Plato's dilemma presented the Pythagorean with no awkward choice. For to Plato's objection that such a king would be divine rather than human, Diotogenes goes on to reply, "Of course. That is exactly what he is."

The fragment continues:

> In judging and in distributing justice, whether as a whole in Public Law [ξυνᾷ], or to individuals in Private Law [ἰδίᾳ], it is right for the king to act as does God in his leadership and command of the universe. On the one hand, in public matters the king is to bring the whole kingdom into harmony with his single rule and leadership, while private matters of detail must be brought into accord with this same harmony and leadership. The king is also occupied in doing well to and benefiting [εὐεργετέν] his subjects, although in doing so he does not depart from justice and law.

The distinction between the νόμος κοινός or ξυνός[45] and the νόμος ἴδιος has been a familiar one since Aristotle. But in Aristotle νόμος κοινός is natural law as contrasted with the law of the city, whether that

[43] 962 a; *cf.* 298 a ff.

[44] *Polit.*, 266 c. The βασιλικὴ ἐπιστήμη is compared to the skill of the pilot, doctor, farmer, athletic trainer, Xenoph., *Mem.*, III, ix, 11. *Cf. Cyrop.*, I, vi, 21-23. The conception of the king as saviour might have come to Plato also from Socrates. See *Mem.*, III, ii, 1-4.

[45] The use of the older ξυνός for κοινός would appear as one of the archaisms artificially introduced into the style.

civil law is unwritten custom or equity, or is the written code. But under Hellenistic monarchies the νόμος κοινός came to be the king-made law which formed the constitution of the kingdom, while the ἴδιος νόμος or ἴδιος λόγος was the private law usually following local tradition. This was the convenient distinction by which, for example, the Ptolemies kept harmony in Egypt. In all ordinary matters, Egyptian and Greek communities might have each their own laws, providing that these were kept always subservient to any decree of general policy or organization which the king cared to institute. Similarly, the different cities of Greece still felt as a result of keeping their private law that they had not lost their personalities in the larger kingdoms. Diotogenes' use of the terms is obviously Hellenistic. It is interesting that here the king emerges as imitator of God and as εὐεργέτης, both conceptions which will soon reappear. Yet the Pythagorean character of the ideal polity is guaranteed by its being based upon, and culminating in, a harmony which is ultimately attuned to the harmony of the universe. The passage closes as follows:

> The third duty, that is, the worship of the gods, is no less fitting for a king. For the Best must be honored by the best man, and the Governing Principle by one who is a governor. So just as God is the Best of those things which are most honorable by nature, likewise the king is best in the earthly and human realm. Now the king bears the same relation to the state [πόλιν] as God to the world; and the state is in the same ratio to the world as the king is to God. For the state, made as it is by a harmonizing together of many different elements, is an imitation of the order and harmony of the world, while the king who has an absolute rulership, and is himself Animate Law, has been metamorphosed into a deity among men.[46]

Comment is hardly necessary to bring out the Pythagorean character of this section.[47] Insistence upon harmony as the basis of state organization, a harmony that reproduces the harmony of the universe, is coupled with explicit statement of the mathematical ratio of the state to the universe. The fragment thus gives a fairly complete picture of the king in the state. He is metamorphosed into deity, and transcends his subjects as God transcends his creations. And this is all summed up in the fact that he is Animate Law. Whence comes the harmony of the states which makes an entity out of divergent elements? From the same

[46] Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις παρεσχαμάτισται.

[47] In Plato's *Laws*, V, 735 d, it is pointed out that a virtuous tyrant is of great value to a city in that he can more readily apply purificatory rites to the city than any other sort of legislator.

sort of source, we may fairly infer, as the harmony of the universe.

At this point it is illuminating to refer to the conception of the relation of God to His universe in another pseudepigraphic fragment from Pythagoreanism, that ascribed by Stobaeus to Philolaus.[48] Here the universe, eternal as a whole, is divided into two parts, the fixed and unchangeable realm above the moon, the changeable and moving realm beneath the moon. But this changeable part is, by its conformity to the unchangeable, or to God, a part of the cosmos which as a whole can be described as an eternal activity of God. In the same way the state here is a product of the character of the king. The whole conception is of course post-Aristotelian. The nature of God is the creative law of the universe. The nature of the king is the creative law of the state. So is the king at once God and Animate Law. And such exactly was the Hellenistic king. Kaerst has brilliantly described the personal character of each Hellenistic kingdom.[49] There were no recognized boundaries between them. At various points in Alexander's great empire individuals set themselves up as kings, ruling each of them as much as he was able to hold from the attacks of others. Nothing bound the Syrians, Aramaeans, Phoenicians, and Palestinians together except the person of the king at Antioch. He was the animate constitution, and the only constitution which brought any harmony or cohesiveness into his heterogeneous realm. The illustration of God as holding and shaping matter into the cosmos was vividly accurate. Exactly that is what the king, as an official personality, had to do for his kingdom.

In the second fragment,[50] Diotogenes turns from the king as a public official to discuss the king's own character; if he is the Animate Law, he ought to be personally of the proper sort, as well as to look and act the part.

> Wherefore the king must not be conquered by pleasure, but must himself conquer it. He must not resemble the multitude (indeed, he should be far different from them), and he must regard not pleasure but manly virtue [*ἀνδραγαθία*] as his proper objective. At the same time it is proper that one who desires to rule over others should first be able to rule over his own passions.

[48] Stob., I, xx, 2 (I, 172). Diels, *Fragm. d. Vorsok.* (3d ed.), 32 B. 21. On this fragment see Zeller, *Phil. d. Gr.*, I, i (6th ed.), 476, note. English translation, *Pre-Socratics*, I, 399, n. 1. *Cf.* Ocellus Lucanus, §19 (ed. R. Harder, Berlin, 1926). Zeller, III, ii, 149, n. 5.

[49] *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, II (1926), 325 ff.

[50] Stob., IV, vii, 62 (IV, 265 f.).

The conception that one who cannot rule himself cannot rule others is common in Greek thought from Socrates on. Stobaeus has preserved a striking parallel in the fragment: "Socrates said that the superior king would be one who could rule over his own passions."[51] Ἀνδραγαθία is held up as a virtue for kings as far back as Herodotus (I, 99). Diotogenes continues:

> Further, this is the rationale of his avarice. It is right for him to possess goods enough to benefit [εὐεργετέν] his friends and support the needy, and also to avenge himself upon his enemies with penalties. For the enjoyment of good fortune is most pleasant when joined with virtue. Similarly about his pre-eminence [ὑπεροχή]: for he must excel the rest in virtue and on that account be judged worthy to rule, but not on account of his wealth, or power, or military strength. For the first of these qualities he has in common with all sorts of people [τῶν τυχόντων], the second with irrational animals, the third with tyrants, while virtue alone is peculiar to good men. So that what king is self-controlled in pleasure, given to sharing his possessions, and is prudent and powerful in virtue, that man would be a king in very truth. And the people have the same proportion of goods and evils as the parts of the human soul. For avarice concerns the leading part[52] of the soul, since desire [ἐπιθυμία] is a rational thing [λογική]; and love of honor and brutality[53] have to do with the spirited element [θυμοειδές], for this is the living and dynamic part of the soul; while love of pleasure concerns the desirous element, for this is the female and damp part of the soul.

The author is getting rather involved. He has begun with an astonishing rationalization of the avarice of the king, a word which was as ugly in the author's day as now[54] but a fact which was all too obviously an outstanding characteristic of many Hellenistic rulers. Diotogenes is making an effort to justify them. Avarice, he says, brings the king power to benefit and injure, and that is pleasant. Furthermore, it is like his preëminence (ὑπεροχή), which is universally conceded as a necessary prerogative of kings. But royal preëminence ought to be expressed chiefly in the realm of virtue if the king is to be king in the highest sense. Similarly in the matter of avarice, for the king is to his subjects (here Diotogenes introduces more Platonism) as reason is to the spirited and desirous parts of the human soul. So, as his subjects have

[51] Stob., IV, vii, 26 (IV, 255). *Cf.* II, viii, 29 (II, 159).

[52] ἡγεμονικόν; *cf.* Plato, *Tim.*, 41 c, 70 b.

[53] For Pythagorean use of this tripartite division of the soul see Metopus the Pythagorean, in Stob., III, i, 115 (III, 66), where also the θηριώτας is associated with θυμοειδές. *Cf.* Arist., *Nic. Eth.*, VII, i, 1.

[54] See Ps.-Aristaeas, *Epist.*, 270, 277.

pleasure or love of honor as their incentive, the king should have his rational interests, which are, Diotogenes asserts, by nature avaricious and desirous. No more shocking breach of Greek philosophic decorum could be imagined than this identification of λογική and ἐπιθυμία.[55] There is a sense, to be sure, in which knowledge is driven by curiosity, a desire for learning, and what Diotogenes says may possibly be explained on that ground. If so, it would seem that the king is being recommended to express his avarice in intellectual greed, as he should manifest his preëminence in moral superiority. But unless the text is completely corrupt, the impression is unmistakable that the author has much knowledge of how these great kings really act, a fact which increases the probability that the document is a product of the Hellenistic age, as well as its importance for the subject being discussed.

In the section which follows, Diotogenes is explaining how the king should act in view of his character as Animate Law. Justice is to be his fundamental characteristic, for this is the supreme virtue which includes all others. As in Plato,[56] who probably got the conception from Pythagoreans, justice is represented in individual and state alike as the virtue of virtues, because it is a harmony in which each component part performs its own functions, and also because it is a binding and harmonizing force compelling them to do so. Now as the king has this justice in himself, he is able to infuse it into the entire state, and so make the state a harmony out of its various parts. Diotogenes continues:

Injustice is the uttermost sin, and, by its compounded nature, involves the whole soul. Whence the king should harmonize together the well lawed city like a lyre. Knowing that the harmony of the multitude whose leadership God has given him ought to be attuned to himself, the king would begin by fixing in his own life the most just limitations and order of law. And besides issuing public decrees the good king should present to the state proper attitudes in body and mind. He should impersonate the statesman and have an appearance of practicality so as not to seem to the mob as either harsh or despicable,[57] but at once

[55] Desire is interestingly discussed by Aristoxenus the Pythagorean, in Stob., III, x, 66 (III, 424), where desires are suggested which are not sensuous. But nothing is made of it in this small fragment.

[56] *Rep.*, 443 c ff. *Cf.* Polus the Pythagorean in Stob., III, ix, 51 (III, 362) and Hippodamus *apud* Delatte, p. 145, fr. 4.

[57] εὐκαταφρόνητος. Here the government is to appear neither harsh nor an easy mark. The term is twice used by Xenophon as a thing which true kingly rule will avoid. In *Hellen.*, VI, iv, 28, it is the highest point in praise of Jason, Tagos of Thessaly, that his rule was not despised. So in *Cyrop.*, VIII,

pleasant and yet watchful from every angle.[58] And he will succeed in this if first he make an impression of majesty by his appearance and utterances, and by his looking the part of the ruler; if secondly, he be gracious both in conversation and in appearance, and in actual benefactions [εὐεργεσίας]; and third, if he inspire fear in his subjects by his hatred of evil and by his punishments, by his speed of action[59] and in general by his skill and industry in kingly duties. For majesty, a godlike thing, can make him admired and honored by the multitude; graciousness will make him popular and beloved; while the ability to inspire fear will make him terrible and unconquerable in his dealings with enemies, but magnanimous and trustworthy toward his friends. And majesty must be one of his fixed attributes; he must do nothing base or worthy of the mob, but only things worthy of those who are admired, and to whom leadership and the power of the scepter belong; he must vie not with his inferiors or equals, but with his superiors. He must think, in the spirit of the greatness of his leadership, that the greatest pleasures are those which consist in good and great deeds rather than in enjoyment. He must separate himself from the human passions, and draw himself up close to the gods,[60] not in arrogance, but in high-mindedness and in the exceeding greatness of his virtue. He must wrap himself about with such distinction and superiority in his appearance, in his thought life and reflections, and in the character of his soul, as well as in the actions, movements, and attitudes of his body. So will he succeed in putting into order those who look upon him, amazed at his majesty, at his self-control, and his fitness for distinction.[61] For to look upon the good king ought to affect the souls of those who see him no less than a flute or harmony.

Enough has been said about majesty; now I will try to discuss graciousness. Any king will be gracious who is generally just, equitable and merciful. For justice is the binding and holding together of the community [of the soul], and such a state of the soul is the only basis for harmony with one's neighbors. For justice bears the same relation to communion[62] as rhythm to motion and harmony to the voice; for justice is a good shared in common between the rulers and the ruled and is accordingly the harmonizing principle in the political community. And equity and mercy share the throne of justice, the one

iii, 1, Cyrus is very careful not to be despicable in his great procession of sacrifice.

[58] ἀμφιστραφής, said of a three-headed dragon in *Iliad*, xi, 40.

[59] ἐπιτάχυσις, a *hapax legomenon*.

[60] συνεγγίζω, compare above, the fragment of Archytas where the king is closest to the law, p. 60.

[61] διαθέσι τῷ περὶ τὰν ἐπιπρέπηαν.

[62] κοινωνία, which I am consistently translating "communion" here and in Ecphantus, as the only English word which is even approximately intelligible in the various uses of the Greek term. The word really means "reciprocal relationship."

softening the harshness of the injury, the other giving indulgence to those suffering from some delinquency. And the good king must be helpful to those who are in need, be grateful and not burdensome. And he must give his aid not in some one way, but in any way possible; and he must be grateful in proportion not to the size of the present of honor which is made to him, but to the manner and purpose of the one who is thus honoring him; and he must not be burdensome to any man, particularly not to the lowly and those in misfortune; for these, like men ill in body, are unable to bear a heavy load. For the gods, and especially Zeus, the ruler of all things, have such attributes. He also is majestic and awe-inspiring both by his preëminence and by the greatness of his virtue; and he is gracious in his benefactions and generosity, so that he is called by the Ionic poet, "Father of gods and men"; and he inspires fear by the fact that he punishes evil doers, and controls and rules all things, and has the thunderbolt in his hand as a symbol of fearfulness. In all these respects, it must be borne in mind, royalty is an imitation of divinity.

Fragmentary as are the survivals of Diotogenes' writings, his philosophy of royalty is sufficiently evident. It begins and ends in the conception of the animate law. It is the king as an official who is the constitution of his realm. As such he is recommended to be a good constitution, to bring the state into harmony by first harmonizing himself and then introducing that harmony into his kingdom. Such is the activity of God, and so likewise should be the activity of the king.[63] But more, the virtues, the propriety, and the excellent character of the king have the effect of drawing into inner harmony the character of men who only gaze upon him. It is in Ecphantus that this astonishing statement will find an explanation.

A short fragment from a document on *Kingship* is also preserved, ascribed to Sthenidas of Lokri, the Pythagorean.[64] The work was undoubtedly a pseudonymous ascription to a Pythagorean of Lokri, who is mentioned by Iamblichus with the name spelled "Sthenonidas," though there is no reason for thinking the fragment genuine.[65] The fragment reads:

The king must be a wise man,[66] for so he will be a copy and imitator

[63] On the imitation of God see below, p. 74.

[64] Stob., IV, vii, 63 (IV, 270).

[65] Iambl., *Vit. Porph.*, 267. Porphyry (*Vit. Pyth.*, 56) narrates that elders of Lokri prevented Pythagoras from entering the city, on the grounds that their laws were already perfectly good. But of other connection of Pythagoreanism with Lokri nothing is known.

[66] The elders of Lokri who forestalled the visit of Pythagoras are reported to have said to him, *ἡμέες, ὦ Πυθαγόρα, σοφὸν μὲν ἄνδρα σε καὶ δεινὸν ἀκούομεν.* Porph., *Vit. Pyth.*, 56.

of the first God. For God is the first king and ruler by nature, while the other is so only by birth and imitation. The one rules in the entire universe, the other upon earth; and the one lives and rules all things forever and possesses wisdom [σοφία] in himself, the other is temporal and has only understanding [ἐπιστήμη]. And he would best imitate God by keeping himself great-minded, merciful, and lacking in few things,[67] and by evincing a fatherly disposition to those beneath him. For it is in this way that the first God is recognized as father of gods and men, by the fact that he is merciful to everything which is subject to him, and never relinquishes his hold of the leadership; nor is he satisfied at being the maker of all things alone, but he is the supporter and teacher of all that is beautiful, and the lawgiver equally to all. Such a leader upon earth and among men ought he also to be who aspires to be king. And nothing which lacks a king or ruler is good; and without wisdom and understanding it is impossible to be either a king or ruler. Indeed he who is both king and wise will be a lawful imitator and servant of God.

So short a fragment is dated with great difficulty, even approximately. At first sight it would appear that it is chiefly to be contrasted with the remains of Archytas and Diotogenes in that the σοφός here implies clear Stoic influence. But a second glance reveals that the only Stoic element in the entire fragment is the use of the term σοφός, which was, of course, not an invention of the Stoics at all. Indeed, the explanation that σοφός is one who imitates God is definitely at variance with Stoicism. The conception of the imitation of God in Greek philosophy is clarified by a paragraph in Stobaeus which begins with the statement: "Socrates and Plato agreed with Pythagoras that the end of life is to achieve a likeness to God."[68] Plato indeed went further and, like Sthenidas, said that when the true statesman (the king) rules with knowledge, harmonizes the state, brings together the diverse elements of the good and rejects the bad, he not merely imitates but reproduces the divine image. The likeness is so close that Campbell long ago thought that Plato's conception was derived from the Pythagorean idea which lay behind these fragments.[69] But whether that is true or not, the conception of imitating God is a bit of Pythagorean-Platonic mysticism which is essentially foreign to the nature of Stoicism. For imitation of God could be imagined only by philosophers who considered God

[67] ὀλιγοδεέα. Philo goes further: ὁ μὲν θεὸς οὐδενὸς δεῖται, ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ μόνου θεοῦ. R. Harris, *Fragments of Philo Judaeus*, p. 104.

[68] Stob., II, vii, 3 f. (II, 49). *Cf.* Zeller, *Phil. d. Gr.*, I, i, 565, n. 5; English translation, I, 490, n. 1.

[69] Louis Campbell, *The Sophistus and Politicus of Plato*, Oxford, 1867, pp. xxv ff. of the *Politicus*.

as a moral existence ruling a world objective to himself. If God is the all, as in Stoic pantheism, one may live in conformity with God's legal nature but can hardly imitate Him. The use of σοφός then might suggest a pre-Poseidonian date for the fragment, and in any case does not imply essential Stoic influence.

As it stands the fragment betrays a less competent author than Diotogenes. Particularly is the thought blurred by his confusion of σοφία and ἐπιστήμη. At first σοφία is ascribed to God, and ἐπιστήμη, the word used for royal science by Socrates and Plato, is properly ascribed to the king.[70] But then shortly both σοφία and ἐπιστήμη are applied to the earthly ruler alone. In a source as corrupt as the text of Stobaeus the confusion may well have been made by the copyists.

Another group of fragments from a work on *Kingship* is preserved by Stobaeus as from Ecphantus the Pythagorean.[71] But they are also pseudonymous. Ecphantus was a contemporary of Archytas, and wrote in Attic Greek. The fragments on *Kingship* are Doric, and appear to belong to the Hellenistic period. But if they are pseudonymous they are none the less interesting for their testimony on the philosophy of royalty. Unfortunately their text is in particularly bad condition. The first fragment begins:

It seems to me to be clear from many bits of evidence that the nature of every animal is in harmony with the cosmos and the things in the cosmos. For inasmuch as it breathes along with the universe and is closely bound in that sequence which is at once the best and inevitable, it follows in the sweep of the universe, and is led about in accordance with the universal [κοινή] good order, and with the duration proper to each individual thing. Whence it has its name Cosmos, and is the most perfect of living beings. And in its parts, which are many and of diverse nature, some one living being rules which is most suitable in its origin, and in the fact that it has a greater share in divinity. And in the nature of the eternal God those things which have the first and highest conformity [ἀκολουθία] to divinity desire . . . and the planets.[72] And in the region of the moon, beneath where bodies travel in a straight line,[73] demonic nature achieves its development, but in our environment on the

[70] See above, n. 44.

[71] Stob., IV, vii, 64, 65, 66 (IV, 271 ff.). On Ecphantus, see Diels, *Fragm. d. Vorsok.*, I, 340, n.; Prächter in Überweg, *Gesch. Phil.*, I (1920), 356; Zeller, *Phil. d. Gr.*, I, i (6th ed.), 604-607 (for Bibl., see p. 606, n. 3); Wellmann in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, V, 2215.

[72] The text breaks down here completely.

[73] Reading τῶν . . . ἰόντων σωμάτων.

earth man has achieved the highest development, while it is the king who is most divine.

Here again there might seem to be a Stoic influence in the whirling of the universe, but the universal harmony is still Pythagorean, while the universe as a whirling animal is recognizably Platonic.[74] The section breaks down in text at a passage which was most clearly Pythagorean. It would seem to have been a division of the universe, not as in Diotogenes into the sublunar and supralunar worlds, but into a series of worlds in each of which was a group of proper inhabitants, ruled over by a peculiarly superior member who represented divinity to them. Such a description will appear shortly in a Hermetic fragment, and it fills the need here perfectly. The Ecphantus fragment goes on to explain the peculiar divinity of the king among men:

He claims the lion's share of the better elements in our common nature. He is like the rest [of mankind] indeed in his earthly tabernacle [σκᾶνος], inasmuch as he is formed out of the same material; but he is fashioned by the supreme Artificer, who in making the king used himself as an Archetype.

Extraordinary as is this statement, there is good reason for thinking it was a current Pythagorean way of expressing the superiority of the king over his subjects. Eurysus, a Pythagorean, is quoted by Clement of Alexandria as using the same words exactly,[75] though we would not be sure he had the king in mind if it were not for a passage quoted by Stobaeus from the same work.[76] Ecphantus continues:

Accordingly the king, as a copy of the higher king, is a single and unique creation, for he is on the one hand always intimate with the one who made him,[77] while to his subjects he appears as though he were in

[74] The Cosmos is an animal (ζῷον) with some power to move itself in a great whirling motion in *Politicus*, 269 c. Harmony is here also emphasized.

[75] *Clem. Alex. Strom.*, V, v (ed. Stählin, II, 344, lines 18 ff.). Τὸν δημιουργὸν αὐτῷ χρώμενον παραδείγματι ποιῆσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸ σκᾶνος τοῖς λοιποῖς ὅμοιον, οἷα γεγονὸς ἐκ τᾶς αὐτᾶς ὕλας, ὑπὸ τεχνίτα δὲ εἰργασμένον λῴστω, ὃς ἐτεχνίτευσεν αὐτὸ ἀρχετύπῳ χρώμενος ἑαυτῷ. See Diels, *Vorsok*, p. 259. The sinful earthly tabernacle of the soul which is good appears strikingly in pseudo-Plato, *Axiochus*, 365 e ff. *Cf. Clem. Alex. Strom.*, V, xiv (ed. Stäh., II, 388, lines 9 ff.).

[76] Stob., I, vi, 19 (I, 89), at end. The *Axiochus* shows that the conception of σκῆνος was the basis of complete dualism of soul and body, to which this fragment is obviously referring. The two fragments of Eurysus seem to have close connection with each other.

[77] An interesting parallel is to be found in Plato's *Laws*, 716 a ff., where those who are very well ordered, and obey the νόμος θεῖος, and do not bring

a light, the light of royalty. For he is judged and approved by this light, as is the mightiest of winged creatures, the eagle, set face to face with the sun. Thus royalty is explained in the fact that by its divine character and excessive brilliance it is hard to behold, except for those who have a legitimate claim. For bastard usurpers are confuted by complete bedazzlement, and by such vertigo as assails those who climb to a lofty height. But royalty is something with which people can live, if those who aspire to it are properly attuned to it, and are able to use it. Royalty is then a sure and incorruptible thing, very hard for a human being to achieve by reason of its exceeding divinity. And he who stands in it [*i.e.*, the king] must be pure and radiant in nature, so that he may not tarnish its exceeding brightness by his own blemishes, even as some people defile even the most sacred places, and some of those whom one meets are a pollution to those who meet them. And the one who thus lives in royalty ought to share in its immaculate nature, and to understand how much more divine he is than the rest, and how much more divine than he is are those others [the gods] by likening himself to whom he would do the best for himself and his subjects. And in the case of ordinary [ἄλλους] men, if they sin, their most holy purification is to make themselves like the rulers, whether it be law or king who orders affairs where they are. . . .[78] For no one would ever doubt the existence of the world who was in it and part of it, nor would anyone be insensible of his own master who himself ruled over others.

The greatness of cosmic order consists in the fact that nothing unruled can be found, and that it is in a sense the teacher of rulership. For its beauty is revealed straightway if the one [the king] who imitates [God] in his virtue is beloved at once by him whom he is imitating and by his subjects. For no one who is beloved by God would be hated by men, since neither the stars nor the whole cosmos are at enmity with God, but rather if they hated the leader they would not obediently follow him. But it is the very fact that God rules well which causes good rulership to apply to both the king and his subjects. So then I suppose that the earthly king can fall short in no particular of the virtue of the heavenly king; but just as the king is an alien and foreign thing which has come down from heaven[79] to man, so anyone would suppose that

upon themselves the punishment of δίκη through ὕβρις, but do what is pleasing to and in accordance with God, are like God, and since they are like God they are friendly with God. Still more strikingly does Plato describe Minos (*Minos*, 319 a ff.) as able to give good laws because he was constantly in communion with God by virtue of his being like God.

[78] The Greek of this omitted sentence is unintelligible without such extensive emendation that its value would be destroyed for our purpose. I should guess from the context that the author meant to say here that purification for the king was a matter of making himself resemble the cosmic rulership.

[79] Ἐκεῖθεν, referring to κατ' ὠρανόν in previous line.

his virtues were the work of God, and have become the king's through God.

I break off this remarkable exposition before the author turns to another aspect of his subject to seek some explanation of what has already been said, for here is clearly an admixture to a Pythagorean-Platonic base of oriental or Egyptian sun symbolism. It would appear here that royalty is a stream of light which goes out from deity lighting one high point in each order of existence. Among men it touches the king alone. It seems not so much to illuminate some individual and make him royal, as to bring the king down along with it from heaven, made of flesh and blood in his tabernacle, but actually of a different sort from men altogether in what is truly the man, to use the word of Axiochus, the ψυχή. None but a man with such an origin can bear to live in this heavenly illumination. Ordinary men, bastards, as Ecphantus calls them, are blinded, and prostrated with vertigo if they try to usurp royal prerogatives. The conception is certainly not Roman, though its assumption of a single king of humanity would at first suggest a Roman date; nor is it Greek. But both Persia and Egypt regarded the king as hedged thus by a luminous solar divinity.

In Persia, as witnessed by the *Zend-Avesta,* there was a divine kingly glory made by Mazda which shone upon true kings, but which usurpers were unable to seize. Of such an attempt it is said that the Touranian ruffian Frangrasyan tried to seize it in the Sea Vouru-Kasha. "He stripped himself naked, wishing to seize the glory that belongs to the Aryan nations. But the glory escaped, the glory fled away."[80] But of those on whom it came it is said, "It clave unto king Vîstâspa, so that he thought according to the Law, spoke according to the Law, and did according to the Law; so that he professed that Law, destroying his foes and causing the Daêvas to retire."[81] It comes on the king (who is identified with Lake Kâsava) in the mountain streams, running and flowing into him, bringing power, wealth, physical strength, all designed to help the faithful and the law of the worshipers of Mazda.[82] That this sun symbolism of Persia early affected the Hellenistic cult of royalty has long been recognized.[83] The prac-

[80] *Sîrôzah,* II, xix, 56 (tr. Darmest., II, 300).
[81] *Ibid.,* Sec. 84 (p. 306).
[82] *Ibid.,* Sec. 67-69 (p. 302).
[83] See especially Puchstein in K. Humann and A. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien,* Berlin, 1890, pp. 336 ff.; E. Kornemann, "Zur

tical side of this conception is amusingly described by Xenophon. The Persian king, in order to cast a spell on his subjects, dressed in a way to conceal any personal defects, wore padded shoes to make himself appear taller, used cosmetics extensively to make the complexion more brilliant, while he was careful not to spit, wipe his nose, or turn to stare at anything, lest by appearing corporeal or curious he spoil his impression of divinity and omniscience.[84] It was the same idea which suggested Diotogenes' description of the overpowering effect of the mere spectacle of a true king.[85]

It is interesting to note that it was in Egypt that the Hermetic literature was worked out, literature which much enlightens the statements of Ecphantus. Horus, in one passage,[86] asks his mother Isis to describe the origin of kingly souls. Isis replies that there are four regions of the universe subject to law which cannot be transgressed, and to presidency, viz., heaven, the aether, air, and the earth. In heaven dwell the gods ruled by the Maker of all things; in the aether the stars, ruled by the sun; in the air are souls, under the moon; and on earth men, ruled by the person who is king for the time being, one of whom is always provided by the gods. All the three lower rulers are effluxes of the king in heaven, grading down to the king, who, vastly as he is superior to men, can hardly be called true deity while on earth. Yet he has a unique quality which is like a god, for his soul is sent down into him from a higher stratum than the souls of ordinary men. Kingly souls are thus sent down for two reasons. They may be souls who in the process of metempsychosis are just ready for apotheosis, but are given one last incarnation as kings to train them for the divine rulership they are soon to assume in heaven. Or they may already have been such divinities who had come to deserve some slight punishment for a peccadillo, and so were incarnated, though not in ordinary human form. All such kingly souls are alike in virtue at the outset, but are escorted to

Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte,'' in *Klio,* I (1901), 90 ff., with references *in loco.* The presence of the ancient Mesopotamian and Persian royal symbol in the form of a rosette on the coins of many Hellenistic rulers seems to be additional evidence of this influence. See Fr. Kampers, *Vom Werdegange der abendländischen Kaisermystik,* 1924, Tafel I, numbers 1, 2, 6, 14. I hope shortly to attempt to sketch the history of this interesting symbol.

84 *Cyrop.,* VIII, i, 40-42. A remarkable parallel is to be found in Ammianus Marcellinus, the description of Constantius, XVI, x, 10.

85 See above, p. 72.

86 Stob., I, xlix, 45 (I, 407 ff.). See Walter Scott, *Hermetica,* I, 494 ff.

the body by demons or angels who impart their own characters of warrior, lover of peace, philosopher, or the like, to their charges who have lost all memory and characteristics of their own in losing their heavenly abode. But while in the body they must obey the divine law, and live worthily of their own divine maker, or, instead of returning to deity, they will have to take another incarnation as ordinary men, or even lower.[87]

The Hermetic literature is probably post-Christian in composition, but the date of its composition does not of course certify the date of all of its ideas. It is known that from remotest times the king was regarded in Egypt as the "living image of the Sun God" and that the crown, nimbus, and scepter were all solar symbols. The subject is much too complicated for detailed description here, but the striking use to which Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton) put the conception cannot be passed over. In his substituting Aton, the single solar deity of the world, for Ammon-Re, the solar chief of the company of Egyptian gods, the significance of the relation of the king to the sun was at once enhanced. For as Aton was the source of life to all the earth, he was uniquely related to the king, who was thought to have "come forth from his rays," and to have been fashioned "out of Aton's rays," which were represented as dynamic emanations from the sun, each equipped with a hand as betokening its power. The king sings to Aton:

> Thou art in my heart,
> There is no other that knoweth thee
> Save thy son Ikhnaton;
> Thou hast made him wise
> In thy designs and in thy might.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Thou didst establish the world,
> And raise them up for thy son,
> Who came forth from thy limbs,
> The king of upper and lower Egypt,
> Living in Truth, Lord of the Two Lands,
> Nefer-Khepru-Re, Wan Re (Ikhnaton),
> Son of Re, living in Truth, lord of diadem,
> Ikhnaton, whose life is long;
> (And for) the chief royal wife, his beloved,
> Mistress of the Two Lands, Nefer-nefru-Aton, Nofretete,
> Living and flourishing for ever and ever.

[87] Stob., I, xlix, 69 (I, 463). Scott, *op. cit.*, I, 514.

And again:

> He (Aton) begets his august son Wanre (Ikhnaton)
> Like himself without ceasing,
> Son of Re, wearing his beauty, Nefer-Khepru-Re, Wanre (Ikhnaton),
> Even me, thy son, in whom thou art satisfied.
> Who bears thy name,
> Thy strength and thy might abide in my heart.

It is this process which is vividly represented in the accompanying illustration.

Amenhotep IV and his queen receiving life from the rays of the solar disc Aton.

(From Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*, p. 46.)

The source of Ikhnaton's reform is not established. Cumont thinks it was influenced from the East, Breasted on the contrary that Ikhnaton's Egyptian ideas influenced Asia. But whichever of these two points of view is correct, Breasted seems certainly right in his assertion that "when the Roman Emperor became an Oriental Sun-God, *sol invictus,* the process was in large measure due to the influence of the Asiatic Solar religion rather than to the Solar Pharaoh."[88] The same statement, it seems, may be carried back to the solar aspects of the Hellenistic king. For the distinctive aspect of the Hellenistic philosophy of royalty is the fact that the king's sharing in the Solar Power made him the Animate Law of his realm, a conception which I have sought in vain in Egyptian records. In ancient Egypt the king's command was the ultimate law of the land, but not his person. Only in the East is this latter to be adequately paralleled. Still there seems to have been some influence upon the Hellenistic king from Egyptian solar symbolism, for some of the titles of the Pharaohs were carried over to the Ptolemies. For example on the Rosetta Stone Ptolemy Epiphanes is spoken of as *μεγαλοδόξου*, and *εἰκόνος ζώσης τοῦ Διός, υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἡλίου*, and the horns frequently represented on coins adorning the brows of Hellenistic kings appear to symbolize solar effulgence.

It is of course no argument for a Roman date of the Ecphantus fragments that he speaks of a single and unique king of the human race. In such a form would the tradition have come from both Persian and Egyptian mythology, and too great nicety in the court of the Ptolemies or Seleucids in providing for the legitimacy of their rivals is not to be demanded.

The unique power of the king to bear the royal light Ecphantus illustrates by the legend of the eagle. There was an old story about the eagle, that it was, in Lucian's words, the "strongest-eyed of all living things, the only one that could look straight at the sun; the test of the true royal eagle [*ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ γνήσιος*

[88] *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt,* N. Y., 1912, p. 367. See Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans,* N. Y., 1912, pp. 73-77. The quotations are taken from Breasted, *op. cit.,* pp. 328, 331. *Cf.* the hymn to Aton and the King in Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt,* Chicago, 1906, II, 415, no. 1010; and *ibid., A History of Egypt,* N. Y., 1905, pp. 355 ff. See also Kampers, *op. cit.,* pp. 13 ff., with references in the notes. The best work on Egyptian royalty is Alex. Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la Royauté Pharaonique,* Paris, 1902 (*Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études,* vol. 15). On the crown as a divine symbol, see Rohde, *Psyche,* I, 220, n. 2 (English translation, p. 189, n. 40); K. Fr. Hermann, *Gottesdienstl. Alt.,* Sec. 24, 11; Plutarch, *Aristides,* pp. 21 ff.

ἀετός] was his meeting its rays without blinking."[89] So Aristotle says that the sun eagle is the keenest sighted of the eagles, and compels its offspring when yet unfeathered to look at the sun. Those who are able to do so are then nourished, the others cast out of the nest as bastards. For Lucian goes on to say that those able to see the sun are royally made, the others are rejected as bastards,[90] using thus Ecphantus's own term for a royal usurper. Keller thinks this is an Eastern story, because in Syria and Egypt the bird is connected with the Sun God. His feeling that it is Eastern is in some measure justified, as the connection of the legend with royalty is illuminated by representations on coins of the crown of Tigranes I, king of Armenia. Here on the crown is represented most clearly the testing of two royal eagles, who are evincing their royalty by their ability to gaze directly at the sun.

Ecphantus has thus sketched the transcendental character of the king. He now continues to discuss his relations with his subjects:

On careful examination the foundation truth will appear to be as follows: For the first and most necessary of all things for the human race is that communion shared in by the king over men as well as by the master who rules all things in the universe. For apart from love and communion existence is impossible, as may be seen also in the case of bodies politic, leaving out of account what is ordinarily called communion. For such ordinary communion (mutual dependence) is beneath the nature of God and King, since they stand in no such need of each other as to be compelled to labor together to satisfy their wants and so render mutual assistance; for both God and King are perfect in virtue. But the love which shares in a common purpose in a city is a copy of the unanimity [ὁμόνοιαν] of the universe. Now without the regi-

[89] Lucian, *Icaromenippus*, 14. Professor Harmon kindly called my attention to this story and its sources.

[90] Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.*, p. 620 a, 1 ff. For further references see Otto Keller, *Thiere des classischen Althertums*, Innsbruck, 1887, p. 268, and pp. 447, n. 295, 448, n. 296. On the use of the eagle by Hellenistic and Roman royalty, see Oder in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, I, 371-375.

mentation which is affected by government no city would be habitable. For this laws are needed, as well as some sort of civil system, both by the ruling element and the ruled, if . . .[91] Out of these things there is produced a common good, viz., a sort of fine harmony and tuning of the mass together which results from their concordant obedience. He who rules in accordance with virtue is called, and is, the king, for he has the same love and communion with his subjects as God has with the universe and the things in it. And there must exist complete good will [εὔνοια], first on the part of the king toward his subjects, and second on their part toward the king, such as is felt by a father toward his son, a shepherd toward his sheep, and by a law toward those who use it.

Thus, remotely superior as is the king above the ordinary race of men, he should be the immediate means by which men may get into harmony with the universe. He is to be a father to his subjects, a shepherd to his flock, whereat the remarkable description of the king as the good shepherd in Plato's *Politicus* at once comes to mind.[92] But Plato's good shepherd, as well as the description of the king as father, was definitely connected with Persia by Xenophon.[93] Incidentally Xenophon has another figure for the king, that of the queen bee, who was thought by the ancients to be king bee,[94] and who is of a different nature from the other bees, and so is aptly descriptive of the divine superiority of the Persian king over his subjects. Persia, then, seems to be the race of people referred to by Aristotle[95] which claimed to be able to produce a kingly race of a different sort from the rest of the citizens; for Aristotle's language is perfectly fitted to the Xenophontic-Persian "king bee." Plato knew and rejected the figure,[96] and Aristotle did the idea, as impossible for Greeks, because so exalted a race or individual was simply not to be found in Greece. But it is known that the Hellenistic age took over the figure, for Plutarch applies it to the king.

Furthermore, Ecphantus, who in writing has his eyes thus on the Persian conception, goes on from calling the king "father

[91] No manuscript makes sense of this phrase.

[92] 265 d, 268 a, *et passim.*

[93] *Cyrop.*, I, i, 2, where the king is shepherd of the people; *ibid.*, VIII, i, 1, 44, where the king is father of the people. The conception of the king as shepherd is very ancient in the east. Prof. Dougherty called my attention to an inscription of Sennacherib, where the king is "the wise Shepherd." See D. D. Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 23, line 3. The fragment of Archytas has already used the figure of the shepherd. See above, p. 62.

[94] *Cyrop.*, V, i, 24, 25.

[95] *Polit.*, 1288 a. See above, p. 63.

[96] *Polit.*, 301 a.

and shepherd'' to call him a ''law'' to his subjects. Herein is suggested at last the origin of the idea of νόμος ἔμψυχος. It is clear that with the Persian conception of royal glory as described in the *Zend-Avesta*[97] has come to Ecphantus its oft-repeated legal significance. For as Persia is the country where the people had a special kingly race, so it is the home of the king as a living law to his people. This has clearly appeared in the quotations from the *Zend-Avesta*. But it was not only taught in Persia, but known to the world outside as a Persian teaching. Xenophon has described the Persian king as personally law, law which watched his subjects.[98] Much later Serenus Aelius records in his *Memoirs* the Persian law that when the king died there should be ἀνομία for five days in order that the Persians might perceive the value of the king and law.[99] When there was no king bringing the divine glory in his own person into Persia there was no law in Persia. So it was probably from Persia that the conception came into Greek thinking. Long known to the Greeks, it was adopted by them in direct imitation when the Hellenistic kings were represented as the divine living law of their kingdom.

In India, apparently indigenously, though perhaps with some Persian influence, the king was also represented as incarnate ''dharma'' or divine law.[100] As such he is of divine origin, a special creation of the gods, and frequently identified with one of the gods. All social health, the very existence of society, are dependent completely upon the kingly rule. ''These people would die without the king; they would sink into utter darkness like cattle without the herdsman.''[101] The descriptions of the king as maker and law of the state are summarized in the fact that he is the protector of his people, a conception almost entirely analogous to the title Σωτήρ used by Hellenistic kings, for it includes military protection, and at the same time protection from the ills of anarchy. Persia had a similar notion in its doctrine of ''Sao-

97 See above, p. 78.

98 *Cyrop.*, VIII, i, 22.

99 Stob., IV, ii, 26 (IV, 162). It is interesting, *in loco*, to notice his reaction to the double empire of Rome in view of the accepted theory of the uniqueness of the kingly office.

100 See Joh. J. Meyer, introduction to his translation of the *Arthacāstra* of the Kautilya, Leipzig, 1926, pp. lxii ff.: ''Der König ist der verkörperte *dharma* und der verkörperte Staatsgedanke.'' *Cf.* U. Ghoshal, *A History of Hindoo Political Theories*, London and Calcutta, 1923. See index, *s.v.* ''King.'' My attention was called to this Indian material by Professors Hopkins and Rostovtzeff. See also Maine, *Early Law and Custom*, pp. 38 ff.

101 See this entire passage quoted by Ghoshal, pp. 90 ff., and 170.

shyant." Clearly in India, as well as in Persia (and the Hellenistic rulers were in touch with one group as well as with the other, especially the Seleucids), the religious character of the king makes him the animate constitution of the state. The king is actually, in the famous phrase, himself the state. It is precisely at this point, it has been seen, that parallels between Egyptian conceptions and these Pythagorean fragments break down; in Egypt the king was solar deity incarnate, but not law incarnate. But with such a remarkable parallel to the νόμος ἔμψυχος directly at hand in Persia, and attracting the attention of thoughtful Greeks as all Persian customs did, it is impossible for me not to feel that the whole conception got into the Pythagorean tradition, as well as into the other streams of Greek thinking, from the East.[102]

The next fragment to be considered will be the third rather than the second of Ecphantus;[103]

In so far as he has a sacred and divine mentality he is truly a king; for by obeying this mentality he will cause all good things, but nothing that is evil. And he will clearly be just, one who has common relations with all. For communion [κοινωνία] consists in equality, and while in the distribution of equality justice plays the most important part, yet communion has its share. For it is impossible to be unjust while giving a share of equality, or to give a share of equality and not to be communal. And could one doubt that the self-sufficient man [ὁ αὐταρκής] is continent [ἐγκρατής]? For extravagance is the mother of incontinence, who in turn is the mother of insurgency [ὕβρις], from whom most human ills arise. But self-sufficiency does not beget extravagance or her brood. Rather self-sufficiency, being a primal entity [ἀρχά], leads all things, but is itself led by nothing, and precisely this is a property alike of God and the king himself to be the ruler (whence he is called the "Self-Ruling"),[104] but to be ruled by no one. Now that this could not occur apart from intelligence [φρόνησις] is clear,[105] while it is obvious that God is the intelligence of the universe. For the universe is held together in arrangement and proper order, and this could not ob-

[102] It is at this point that Professor Ferguson seems to me to have missed some of the significance of Hellenistic royalty. See his "Legalized Absolutism en route from Greece to Rome," in *American Historical Rev.*, XVIII (1912), 29-47. He was clearly right in emphasizing the constitutional and legal, rather than the religious, importance of the divinity of the king. But he makes a false distinction between the political element and the Persian-Egyptian religious element. He seems not to have been aware of the legal and constitutional significance of oriental royal divinity.

[103] Stob., IV, vii, 66 (IV, 278).

[104] Ecphantus is attempting to derive αὐτάρκης from ἀρχή.

[105] See above on Plato, p. 62.

tain without mind [νοῦς]. Nor could the king without intelligence have these virtues: I mean justice, continence, communion, and their sisters.

Here in the conception of self-sufficiency Stoic influence is for the first time distinctly felt. The Stoics by no means originated the idea that private virtue, and particularly self-control, was the criterion of eligibility for the kingly office.[106] But when Xenophon and Plato spoke of σωφροσύνη, the term used of the king in this connection by Diotogenes, the Stoics preferred their own slightly different αὐτάρκεια.[107] Yet the passage is much more Pythagorean or Platonic in its fundamental conception of the king than Stoic,[108] for Plato had said the same thing of the king in the *Politicus* in the most explicit language.[109] But it is in the close of Plato's *Laws*, rather than in Stoicism, that a closer parallel to the latter part of the fragment will be found. Reference has already been made to the fact that Plato, in despair of finding a true king, suggested a council of ten, which might introduce mind (νοῦς) into the machinery and laws of the state.[110] The knowledge which gives the councillors power thus to affect the state is the knowledge that ψυχή is cosmically the primary substance, dominant over matter, and that the active principle in the ψυχή is an all-pervading νοῦς, which can be called the World Mind, and which governs all things.[111] It is from such knowledge that the councillors will come to see that all virtues are but aspects of a single virtue, to which all law must be made to conform.[112] Similarly here Ecphantus puts the king into a unique position: the king is himself the sole representation of this divine νοῦς among men.

But I am haunted by the feeling that it is the Hvarena conception of the Persians which Plato is trying to introduce as νοῦς into the organization of the city-state. And is not Ecphantus looking steadily eastward for his symbolism and sounding Platonic here because Plato was furtively doing the same thing? For it is in the Eastern kingdoms that the metaphysical character of

106 See on Isocrates above, p. 57, and Socrates, p. 70.

107 References in Zeller, *Phil. d. Gr.*, III, i (4th ed.), 224, n. 5. English translation, *Stoics*, p. 224, n. 4.

108 Stoicism of course added nothing new to the doctrine of kingliness when, in revising the Platonic statement that kings should be philosophers, it asserted that irrespective of social position any wise man is *ipso facto* a king. See Plato, *Polit.*, 259 b, 292 a.

109 *Ibid.*, 267 b, 275 c.

110 See above, pp. 66 f.

111 *Laws*, 966 e ff. Especially 967 e, 1, τὸν . . . νοῦν τῶν ὄντων.

112 *Ibid.*, 963 a, 965 d.

the true king is combined in this way with the necessity that he be virtuous. Beginning from Archytas the emphasis upon this twofold criterion has been continuous in the fragments under discussion. The very fact that such a twofold criterion is illogical makes more significant the fact that the two are to be found similarly combined in both Persia and in India. The combination of the two in India is strikingly illustrated in the *Nārada,* a composition of much earlier material made shortly after Christ. Here the king is described as like each of nine deities according to the nature of his functions. He is like the sun, for example, because he can be gazed at with difficulty because of his luster. Later the same document says: "The king by virtue of his brightness and purity is like the being without beginning and without end, provided he does not stray from the path [of duty]."[113] Like the royal standards which Xenophon represents as Persian in his description of Cyrus, this Indian righteousness of the king is described as primarily the union of justice with self-control.[114] Stoicism may have suggested to Ecphantus the term *αὐτάρκεια* rather than *σωφροσύνη*, but his whole royal description is too Eastern and traditional to admit here of essential Stoic influence.

The second fragment from Ecphantus's treatise on kingship reads as follows:[115]

In ruling over men and in controlling his own life he uses one and the same virtue, not massing acquisitions on account of any lack, for his personal service, but doing as one does in a life of action according to nature. For although this communion exists, yet each man lives sufficient unto himself. For in carrying out his life the self-sufficient man needs nothing outside of himself; and if he must live an active life, and so

[113] Ghoshal, *Hindoo Political Theories,* pp. 225 ff.

[114] *Ibid.,* pp. 97 ff., 100: "If the king practices righteousness, it is urged, he attains very nearly to the position of a God, while he goes to hell if he does the reverse. The person through whom righteousness flourishes is verily called a king (Rājan), while he through whom it decays, is called by the gods the destroyer of righteousness (Vriṣala). Of the same nature is the distinction drawn by the sage between the haughty and the modest king. One becomes a king, he says, by vanquishing pride and a slave by succumbing to it. . . . The unjust king who employs sinful and wicked ministers, says the sage, should be slain by the people." This is all accompanied by the conception of the king as a divine creation. See especially p. 191: "The king should . . . learn the four traditional sciences and should conquer the senses. The last involved the suppression of eighteen vices which Manu declares to be worse than death. The reason for the exercise of this self-command is indicated in another place where it is declared that the person who has conquered his own senses is alone able to keep his subjects under control."

[115] Stob., IV, vii, 65 (IV, 276 ff.).

take other factors into account, still none the less will he keep his self-sufficiency. For as he will have his friends as a result of his own virtue, so in making use of them he acts in accordance with no other virtue than what he uses also in his own life. This must follow since there is no other virtue especially provided to this end. God, who has neither ministers nor servants, makes no use of anyone in giving His orders, nor does He crown or honor those who obey Him, or disgrace those who disobey; not such are the means he uses to extend his personal rule over a realm so vast. Rather, it seems to me, by offering Himself as one worthy of imitation God implants a desire [ζῆλον] to imitate Him in every man who has a nature like God's. God is Himself good, and to be so is His sole and easy function [ἔργον], while those who imitate Him do as a consequence all things better than other people. The resemblance which each man can achieve consists in self-sufficiency. For there is not one group of virtues which do what is pleasing to God, and another which imitate Him. Now the earthly king would be just as self-sufficient as the rest of us (by imitating God). For in making himself like God he would make himself like the Most Powerful, and everyone who tried to be like him. . . .[116] Now when matters are put upon subjects by force and necessity their individual zeal for imitation is sometimes diminished, for without good will [εὐνοίας] imitation is impossible, and nothing diminishes good will like fear. Oh, that it were possible to put from human nature all need for obedience! For the fact that as mortal animals we are not exempt from it is the basest trace of our earthiness, inasmuch as a deed of obedience is very close to being one of necessity; for what just escapes being brought about by the one is produced by the other. For whatever things can by their own nature use the Beautiful [τὸ καλόν], have no occasion for obedience, as they have no fear of necessity. The king alone is capable of putting this good into human nature so that by imitation of him, their Better, they will follow in the way they should go. But his logos, if it is accepted, strengthens those who have been corrupted by evil nurture as if by drink, and who have fallen into forgetfulness; it heals the sick, drives out this forgetfulness which has settled upon them as a result of their sin, and makes memory live in its place, from which so-called obedience springs. Taking thus its beginning from seeds of trifling import [φαῦλα σπέρματα] this grows up as something excellent [σπουδαῖον], even in an earthly environment, in which the logos, associating with man, restores what has been lost by sin.

The Pythagorean fragments have led us into a purely eclectic peroration, in which oriental, Pythagorean, Platonic, and Stoic notions are inextricably blended to form a conception of the king as saviour which is as amazing as it is suggestive. It is known from Xenophon[117] that the Persian tradition much discounted the

[116] The text again is hopeless.
[117] *Cyrop.*, I, vi, 20-25.

value of obedience to the king when based upon compulsion. Cambyses tries to explain to young Cyrus that the method of fear in ruling will never be satisfactory. Like Ecphantus he rejects a rulership based upon reward and punishment, which he calls necessary obedience, and turns to spontaneous obedience based upon a sincere conviction on the part of the subjects that the king is actually wiser than they. Similarly Xenophon says that though Cyrus ruled over such an enormous territory and held all his subjects in fear, "yet more he was able to awaken in them all so lively a desire to please him that they always wished to be guided by his will."[118] The idea reëmerges as a distinction in Plato and Aristotle between a king and a tyrant, that the king rules over willing, the tyrant over unwilling, subjects.[119]

But Ecphantus does not stop here; he goes on to express in Stoic symbolism a conception which goes beyond anything in Stoicism proper, and which can be explained ultimately again only in terms of the oriental royal glory. For to show the king's power to influence his subjects the Stoic doctrine of λόγος σπερματικός is transferred from God and applied to the king. In Stoicism the universal divine logos is sometimes conceived in terms of the generative principle: after a primeval division of itself into an active spiritual principle and an inert base, the Logos had proceeded to work as the active spiritual principle transforming the base into the material universe, as the living principle in seeds works upon the inert ground to produce a tree or a human being. Such is the figure which is now applied to kings. From him the logos goes forth, as the logos in eclectic Platonizing Stoicism went forth from God, to work in men as the other works in matter, and to infuse life into them. Life man once had had, but by his sin he lost it, and fell into a helpless inertia and lethargy in which his only response is to compulsion. The supreme function of the king is by virtue of his own relationship with deity, official and personal, to infuse into man a new power, which is a new recognition by man of his own potential nature (this seems to be the sense of the awakened memory), until the logos of the king, like a grain of mustard seed, or, to use another New Testament figure for the same conception, like leaven, has transformed man's

[118] *Cyrop.*, I, i, 5.

[119] Plato, *Polit.*, 276 e; Aristotle, *Polit.*, 285 a, 27, *et passim.* The conception that good people were controlled by the example, bad people by the power, of the king was the Cynic-Stoic way of saying the same thing. But it was hardly an original contribution of the Cynics, as Kaerst says in *Gesch. des Hellenismus*, II (2d ed.), 323, n. 4.

lumpishness into the divine existence God meant him to be. Thus transformed in his spiritual nature man will be an imitation of the king as the king imitates God, each in turn self-ruled and subject to no external compulsion. So man will at last have achieved the dream, however represented, of all Greek ethical thinking, he will be able to live spontaneously by divine law and dispense with the seriatim compulsion and injustice of the written codes. It will now be recalled how Diotogenes describes this process.[120] One needs only to gaze at a king who looks the part of his real sublimity to be affected as by music, to be softened, and to have the discordant element of his life brought into the perfect harmony of δικαιοσύνη, a harmony which expressed the ultimate aim of Pythagoreans and Platonists, as well, of course, as of Pauline Christianity later.

So we have, perhaps, at last grasped the meaning which lies behind the conception of the Animate Law; it means that the king is personally the constitution of his realm, that all the laws of localities under him must be ultimately moulded by and express his will. But more, he is the saviour of his subjects from their sins, by giving them what the Hellenistic world increasingly wanted more than anything else, a dynamic and personal revelation of deity.

But an important question remains, that of how generally it can be shown that this philosophy of royalty was known and accepted in the Hellenistic age. On this point I will cite only a few examples.

The pseudo-Aristotelian "Letter to Alexander," which introduces the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum,* gives a very interesting illustration. The letter need not here be quoted entire.[121] It has long been recognized that the work is not Aristotelian, and a series of scholars, most recently Wendland, have tried to show that it is the work of Anaximenes. Wendland[122] argued that the letter as it now is at hand is a reworking of an original prelude to the *Rhetoric* by Anaximenes to make it sound to a Hellenistic reader like the sort of letter Aristotle ought to have written, according to the reader's standards, to Alexander. That

[120] See above, p. 72.

[121] It is accessible in the English translation by E. S. Forster, in *The Works of Aristotle translated into English,* under the editorship of W. D. Ross, vol. XI, Oxford, 1924. The best text is that of Spengel-Hammer, published under the title Ἀναξιμένους Τέχνη Ῥητορική, in *Rhetores Graeci,* vol. I, Leipzig, 1894.

[122] In *Hermes,* XXXIX (1904), pp. 499 ff.

is, the additions which Wendland distinguished were precisely those added in the Hellenistic period to conform to Hellenistic ideas of the king. Those additions then at once assume considerable importance for our subject. They are in part:

> Among those whose political constitution is democracy the final appeal on all matters is to the law, among those who are under kingly rule the appeal is to your logos. . . . Again you must realize that there is a model set before men, which for some is the law, for others your life and logos. In order, therefore, that you may excel all Greeks and barbarians you must exert yourself to the utmost, so that those who spend their lives in these pursuits [that is, Forster notes, those who make your life and logos their guide], using the element of virtue in them to produce a beauteous copy of the model thus set before them, may not direct themselves toward ignoble ends, but make it their desire to partake in the same virtue.[123]

Used in an introduction to a treatise on rhetoric, the logos here is that conception, impossible to express in modern language, of speech as the dynamic emanation of one's rational life. But it is also given a deeper and more specific meaning: it is that radiation of the king's life and virtue in which those who copy the king may have a share, until they themselves become copies of his model, and are indeed made virtuous by his virtuous logos. The passage is thus an epitome of the philosophy of the Pythagorean fragments.

Another suggestive parallel is to be found in III Maccabees vi. 24. Here the king in his attempted persecution of the Jews is deterred by the appearance of angels. In terror he turns upon his courtiers to put the blame upon them. "You have usurped royal prerogatives," he cried, "and you have surpassed tyrants in their cruelty. And me, your benefactor, you have attempted to remove from the rulership and the Spirit, by your secret contriving against the interests of the kingdom."[124] The meaning of the passage is not certain. The first word, *παραβασιλεύετε*, is unusual, while *τοῦ πνεύματος μεθιστᾶν* might normally mean "deprive me of my life." But since there has been no attempt on the king's

[123] The Epistle also identifies *νόμος* and *λόγος*. *καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἐστὶν ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν λόγος ὡρισμένος καθ' ὁμολογίαν κοινὴν πόλεως, μηνύων πῶς δεῖ πράττειν ἕκαστα.* Kaerst, *Studien zur Entwickelung und theoretischen Begründung der Monarchie im Altertum*, Munich, 1898, p. 31, n. 1, treats this identification as distinctly Stoic, disregarding the same identification in Plato; for example, *Laws*, VIII, 835 e, *Protag.*, 324 b.

[124] *παραβασιλεύετε, καὶ τυράννους ὑπερβεβηκότες ὠμότητι· καὶ ἐμὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ὑμῶν εὐεργέτην ἐπιχειρεῖτε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἤδη καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος μεθιστᾶν, λάθρα μηχανώμενοι τὰ μὴ συμφέροντα τῇ βασιλείᾳ.* The document is probably second century B.C.

life, and the king in no other part of his remarks acts as though he felt personally in danger, the other meaning seems more justified. If the translation be allowed to stand as I have made it, it can only mean that the writer had the Diotogenes-Ecphantus conception of the king in mind. For the πνεῦμα is the royal principle of divinity with which we are now familiar, while the courtiers are charged with being bastards in the sense in which Ecphantus used the term, that is, with the impious sin of trying to take this spirit upon themselves. Ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα are thus synonymous terms.

Similarly it would seem that Justin took for granted the same philosophy of kingship. One recalls the description of the youth of Hiero,[125] an exposed child miraculously preserved and taken back by his father because the father was admonished by soothsayers that sovereign power was predestined for the child. As a boy and young man, Hiero's life was accompanied by portents, not the least important of which was the fact that an eagle at one time perched upon his shield, an owl upon his spear, revealing the fact that in wisdom and valor he was to be supreme and a king. Handsome in person, powerful in physical strength, kindly, just, and moderate in commands, he lacked nothing but a kingdom to be a king, a lack of which was of course soon supplied. The eagle as a symbol of this royal power has already been discussed. Justin mentions an eagle also in the case of Alexander,[126] while the portent of similar significance which accompanied the birth of Mithridates was an extraordinary comet.[127] Seleucus, his sons, and grandsons were born marked with an anchor, as Justin describes it, but since in his symbolism the anchor is connected by Justin with a ring, it was probably the *ankh,* long familiar as the Egyptian symbol of divine royalty, itself the hieroglyph in Egyptian for the word meaning "Life."[128] Clearly to Justin, though in one passage he seems to represent the royal office as a gift of the people,[129] royalty is a divine gift, in which the royal office and a peculiar royal character are combined. It is very likely that if we had the work of Trogus which Justin is epitomizing these hints would appear more fully expanded.

[125] Justin, 23, 4; *cf.* 44, 3.

[126] *Ibid.,* 12, 16.

[127] *Ibid.,* 36, 2.

[128] *Ibid.,* 15, 4. See F. Kampers, *Vom Werdegange der abendländischen Kaisermystik,* pp. 14 ff. See illustration above, p. 81.

[129] Justin, 28, 3.

A fragment *On Kingship*[130] of Musonius, the Eclectic Stoic of the first century after Christ, is important in dating the idea of the king as Animate Law. Musonius says that the king can save and benefit his subjects only by understanding the τέχνη of rulership; hence he must be a philosopher. To be just he must understand δικαιοσύνη. Similarly by philosophy he must learn the other virtues, and thereby become godlike and worthy of respect. He proceeds:

> So in general the good king must be sinless and perfect in word and deed; since he must be what the ancients call Animate Law, creating a law-abiding spirit and unanimity, and thrusting out lawlessness and strife, and being a careful worshipper of Zeus, and, like Zeus, a father to his subjects.

Whereupon Musonius returns to the praise of royalty as being a philosophical art. Νόμος ἔμψυχος was thus a by-word for royalty of great antiquity in the first century of our era.

A very important use of this symbolism for the kingly office is to be found in the writings of Philo of Alexandria, also in the first century. But Philo's remarks open up an entirely new aspect of the problem, which I shall have to leave for future discussion.[131]

At present I shall content myself with citing one more author, Plutarch. His development of the Diotogenes-Ecphantus conception of royalty is stated most distinctly not in his records of the occasional utterances of kings, though these are very important, but in a treatise of which we have only a fragment, that entitled *A Discourse to an Unlearned Prince*.[132] The fragment opens with the statement of the difficulty of giving advice to kings. "For they fear to receive reason [the logos] as their ruler, lest, by its enslaving them to what is proper, it curtail the advantages of their authoritative position." As a matter of fact, he goes on, if the logos curtails power, it does so in a way which enhances the value of being a ruler. For example, Theopompus, king of Sparta, guided by this logos added the Ephors to the system of rulership in Sparta, an act which, as his wife protested, seemed to diminish his powers as king. But Theopompus denied that he had diminished the advantages of his office, for in somewhat curtailing his jurisdiction he had at the same time much lessened the danger to which the king was exposed from envy. "So

[130] In Stob., IV, vii, 67 (IV, 279 ff.).

[131] I hope to publish an article upon this aspect of the subject shortly in the *Harvard Theological Review*.

[132] *Moralia*, ed. Bernard, Leipzig, 1893, V, 11 ff. William Goodwin's translation, Boston, 1870, IV, 323 ff., is very unreliable.

while by directing into others the principle of rulership, like a great stream [from himself], he diminished himself by what he gave to others; yet the Logos, which is implanted in the ruler by philosophy, as his throne-mate and guardian, takes away the dangerous part of his power, which is of itself seemingly healthy, and leaves the wholesome part.'' But most rulers are unintelligent, and in consequence are like colossal statues which are very impressive outside but are actually only dirt or stone.

So if a ruler is to be truly such he must begin with self-discipline, else he can never teach self-control to his subjects. Nor is he to desire that foible of many rulers, especially of the Persian king, the feeling that he is free of all external restraint; on the contrary he must be conscious constantly of himself being ruled. But by what? '' 'By the Law, which is king of all, mortals and immortals,' as Pindar said. Not by that law which is written externally in books and on tablets, but by the Law which is Animate [ἔμψυχος] in him, viz., the Logos, which dwells with him and protects him, and never leaves his soul without guidance.''[133] In Plutarch, the late Platonist, then, this Animate Law conception has been fully identified with the Logos. The true king is the incarnate representation of the universal Nomos, and as such he is the incarnate representation of the Logos. The conception is expressed, like much of the early Christian Christology, in terms of a tripartite division of human nature into body, soul, and logos. And apparently it is generalized in such a form that anyone whose life is guided by reason might be represented as an Animate Nomos-Logos, or king. Such seems to be a corollary which Plutarch draws in traditional form.[134] Still the true king is officially in a unique position. For ''the rulers are ministers of God for the care and safety of mankind, that they may distribute or hold in safe keeping the blessings and benefits which God gives to men.'' The forces of nature, preëminently the sun, are working wonders about us, yet none of their productions can be properly used or enjoyed without law, justice, and the ruler. ''So justice [δίκη] is the end of law, and law is the business [or product, ἔργον] of the ruler, while the ruler is the image of God who ordains all things. So he has no need of the art of Pheidias or Polycletus or

[133] Sec. 3. *Τίς οὖν ἄρξει τοῦ ἄρχοντος; ὁ 'νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων,' ὡς ἔφη Πίνδαρος, οὐκ ἐν βιβλίοις ἔξω γεγραμμένος οὐδέ τισι ξύλοις, ἀλλ' ἔμψυχος ὢν ἐν αὐτῷ λόγος, ἀεὶ συνοικῶν καὶ παραφυλάττων καὶ μηδέποτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐῶν ἔρημον ἡγεμονίας.*

[134] Especially in the stock anecdote of Alexander and Diogenes in Sec. 5. See below, p. 97.

Myron, but by his virtue he makes himself into the closest likeness to God, and fashions himself into the fairest to behold of all statues, and the one most appropriate to divine majesty. And just as God put in heaven the sun, his exceeding beautiful image, and the moon, such also is the ruler in the city, his copy and effulgence, 'when he dispenses God-like justice.' And such he is when he has intelligence [διάνοιαν], the Logos of God, not by virtue of his sceptre, or of the thunderbolt or trident with which some have themselves carved and depicted, making thereby their folly invidious to the Unattainable One. For God visits with nemesis those who copy his thunder and lightning and *radiation of sunbeams* [ἀκτινοβολία], while he delights to augment those who desire his virtue and wish to make themselves like him in beauty and love of mankind; and he shares with them the fine order, justice, truth, and mercy which surround him. Not fire, nor light, nor the course of the sun, nor the rising and setting of the stars, no, not eternity nor immortality are more divine than these. For God is not happy by reason of the duration of his life, but by the fact that he is ruler of virtue; such is true divinity, while to be ruled by virtue is a beautiful thing also."

Far from its being true, as Anaxarchus tried to convince Alexander, that everything the king does is *ipso facto* just (notice this tradition which was also a part of Hellenistic law, and was doomed to reappear in some of the most important crises of history), the king must conform himself to justice. For Zeus has not Themis and Dike for throne-mates in the sense that they are subservient to his arbitrary whims, but his nature is itself that of Themis and Dike, and a king who is like him will resemble him in these virtues. After illustrations of virtuous and vicious rulers, Plutarch returns to the metaphysical aspects of kingship.

What some philosophers say is neither probable nor proper, viz., that God is mingled in with matter which is completely passive, or with things, which are subject to a myriad of necessities, fates, and changes. Rather he is fixed somehow above [all that] with a nature which is eternally unchanging; and turning about naturally on holy foundations, as Plato says, he perfects his work immediately [or in a straight line]. And just as the sun in heaven, his surpassingly beautiful image, reveals his likeness in its reflection of him to those who can see him thus, so he has established in the state the effulgence of high justice and of his attendant Logos like a picture which those who have been made blessed and self-controlled by philosophy copy, in order to shape themselves into the most beautiful of objects. But this state of affairs is brought about by nothing else than the Logos which is produced by philosophy.

If any possible doubt could have existed as to Plutarch's intention before, that has been made clear by this passage which certainly presupposes the Diotogenes-Ecphantus philosophy, especially that of Ecphantus. For here is the supreme and self-sufficient God, who radiates his force and power into the universe in a way which is reflected and illustrated to percipient men by the sun. Similarly the king is in the state an effulgence of this same divine radiation. Yet, and here enters the element commonly emphasized by the Stoics, this cannot be true unless the king is subject to and guided by his own logos, which is brought up to its proper position of predominance only by philosophical training. If there is no royal road to learning, yet philosophy is the road to true royalty, and he who follows this road comes to have a share in the royal spirit regardless of his position, as we have seen so often emphasized by philosophers of all schools since Plato. Yet royal as is every man who copies true royalty, only a king can be so in the full sense. So Plutarch illustrates by Diogenes, whose royal rule of himself aroused almost the envy of Alexander himself. But as Alexander had so much greater opportunities to indulgence, and so much more difficult a course to steer, so if Alexander made a Diogenes of himself and developed his logos so well as to be able to guide himself thereby through the storms of his greater sea, he made himself at once into a greater Diogenes than the Cynic could ever do. Similarly, if he failed, his failure was more enormous, his vices were more vicious, than those of ordinary men. The greater the king the greater his need of the logos as a guide. The struggle is quite beyond the power of human endeavor. Success is impossible "unless the reasoning power [ὁ λογισμός] be heavy, and bear and weigh down upon his authoritative power [ἐξουσία]; or unless the ruler imitates the sun, which as it rises to greater heights in the north moves more slowly and so steers a safer course."

The fragment then concludes with two tests for worthy rulers. The unworthy, when lifted up temporarily by Tyche,[135] are actually soon cast down by her, like epileptics becoming dizzy at a great height; or they prove to be leaky tubs, that cannot contain the mighty influx of authoritative power when it flows into them, but spill it out in sins.

So the value of training the logos of the prince is to make him capable of bearing the influx of the Divine Logos which royal

[135] Kampers (*op. cit.*) has pointed out that this is but another term for the sun-radiance of royalty.

power represents. The unlearned prince is warned that he is an incarnation of the Nomos-Logos, with enormous power as a result for good or evil. He will only be a true prince as by philosophy he learns to use and direct this superhuman power. The doctrine, so much favored by the Stoics, that the true king is the product of philosophy and virtue is all here, but much more is here as well. And the additional element, even to details of imagery, is recognizably the philosophy of Ecphantus.

It seems right, then, to conclude that the philosophy of royalty of Ecphantus was a thoroughly familiar, if not a proverbial, explanation of the royal office. A glance at the official titles of rulers in the period suggests the conclusion that it was the official philosophy of state as well. Much contested as is the meaning of these titles their generally increasing popularity throughout the Hellenistic age is indisputable. Particularly the titles σωτήρ, ἐπιφανής, and εὐεργέτης came to be almost fixed epithets of royalty. Important as was the religious significance of these, their universal use implies that they had an even greater political importance. But that they are all three explained fully, or adequately, in both a religious and a political sense by the material under discussion hardly needs elucidation. For while the title σωτήρ, for instance, implied that the king represented military protection and security to his subjects, certainly its meaning is much enriched by Ecphantus' conception of the king as saviour of society, while its frequent juxtaposition with ἐπιφανής is, so far as I am aware, here first clearly explained;[136] the revelation of deity in the king is in itself the salvation of society.[137] Similarly with other royal titles. Antiochus IV Epiphanes is called σωτῆρος τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ κτίστου τῆς πόλεως (Babylon),[138] and the title κτίστης is applied, Collitz thinks perhaps in the third cen-

[136] On the king as Ἐπιφανής see Pfister in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, Supplementband IV (1924), 306, 307. Great caution must be used in inferring dates for a philosophy from the date of the first official appearance of a title. For example, if ἐπιφανής is first used by Ptolemy V, who died 181, this does not mean that the king has not long been thought of as θεὸς ἐπιφανής, but only that at this time it first occurs to the king to use the word as a royal epithet. The philosophy of royalty which lies behind the word may, and normally would, be centuries older than its use as a title.

[137] The best discussion of the king as saviour is still Paul Wendland's Σωτήρ, in *Zeitsch. f. d. neutestamentl. Wissenschaft.*, V (1904), 335-353. But see also Kampers, *op. cit.*, and Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, II (1926), 311 ff., especially the bibliography on page 311, n. 2. A convenient collection of texts showing royal titles is in P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, 2d ed., 1912, pp. 406-411.

[138] Dittenberg, *Orientis Inscr.*, 253, from Wendland, op. cit., p. 339, n. 5.

tury, to Sosandrus by the little city of Latyia in Thessaly.[139] Wendland shows that the epithet, with others of Greek royalty, was commonly applied to Pompey, Theophanes, and Potamon, as well as to later Roman emperors.[140] But it is only in terms of the conception of νόμος ἔμψυχος that it is intelligible how the king could be described as the *creator* of the state. For while the hero patron of a city was sometimes described as its creator,[141] this was a bit of traditional or mythological history which could hardly have been applied in the same sense to a contemporary king who was ruling over a city or country of great antiquity. But since as νόμος ἔμψυχος the king strictly speaking is himself the state, certainly it is correct to say that in him it is created. Similarly in an inscription at Priene Augustus is described as ἀρχὴ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ζωῆς,[142] a title which suggests the connection of the mystical doctrine of the power of the king in the personal lives of his subjects with the Augustan saviour speculation on which Norden has recently brilliantly written.[143]

In direct contrast, then, to the Stoic description of a king, the Diotogenes-Ecphantus philosophy of kingship not only harmonizes with, but brilliantly illuminates, the official royal epithets of the period. So that it is hard to see any grounds for rejecting the conclusions that a philosophy which was as widely known as this has proved to be, and which was fully in harmony with the official descriptions of royalty, and the only one known

[139] The declaration of a title by a city must not, as is usually done, be regarded as the *conferring* of a title. It was rather the recognition by the city of the ruler's character as being such as to justify the use of the title. He was truly king, and the city acknowledged its allegiance to him, or his right to give it laws, by recognizing his right to use the titles σωτήρ, or κτίστης, or the like. His own use of the title on coins or inscriptions, as his own conception of his powers, would be quite unaffected by such action on the part of a city.

[140] Wendland, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-342. It was Caesar's task, according to Cicero (*pro Marcello*, 27), to found the state anew and to give the world peace and quiet.

[141] G. Herzog-Hauser, see *op. cit.* below, n. 143, p. 807. It is likely that the term originated, as Plaumann thinks in the case of Alexandria, as the title used by city-cults in the worship of their founders. See Gerhard Plaumann, "Probleme des alexandrinischen Alexandercultes," in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, VI (1920), 77-99. But the later uses indicate an expansion of meaning beyond this original significance.

[142] Wendland, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

[143] Norden, *Geburt des Kindes*. On the worship of the king the best discussion is that of G. Herzog-Hauser in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, Supplementband IV (1924), 806-853, with excellent bibliography *passim* and at the end.

to be in such harmony, was actually the official philosophy of kingship in the period. This is the philosophy of state which thrust itself irresistibly upon the Roman imperator. It was only the later influence of Christianity as the official or quasi-official religion of the empire which in the fourth century deflected the adoption of the full conception of the king as the incarnate Nomos-Logos into milder forms of expression.[144] But still the king as the source of law, as the divinely appointed, the Lord's anointed, to touch whom was itself sacrilege against deity, to say nothing of the "Roi Soleil," is a conception which has only ceased to be of immediate importance to Western Europe in the last century, and which still represents the political philosophy of a large part of the human race. And even the phrase *lex animata* survived in the codes of both Civil and Canon Law, though not with the full meaning of the fragments we have been describing. But medieval political theorists called the true secular prince *lex animata,*[145] and Gierke says of the medieval prince: "The essential difference between the *principatus regalis* and the *principatus politicus* lies in this, that the latter is a responsible government according to the laws, while in the former the *lex* is *in pectore regentis,* wherefore he can at any time produce as law from this living fount whatever seems expedient to him." In 1159 John of Salisbury wrote: "Most properly that which pleases the prince therein (in legal matters) has the force of law, because his decision may not be at variance with the intention of equity."[146] "The will of the true ruler depends upon the law of God."[147] Professor Dickenson sums up the position of John of

[144] The Emperor Constantine is described as νόμος ἔμψυχος by Themistius in *Orat.*, V, 64 b, XVI, 212 d, from Delatte, p. 85. The idea is clearly implicit in Julian's declaration "Imperatorem mitissimi animi legibus praestare *caeteris* decet." Ammianus Marcel., XVI, v, 12. But the expression was apparently too strong for Christians, for it reappears only once in the Justinian Code, Nov. CV, ii, 4. It will be recalled that the same reticence attached itself long to the use of the term βασιλεύς. See Bréhier, "L'Origine des titres imperiaux à Byzance," in *Byzantinische Zeitsch.*, XV (Leipzig, 1906), 160-178.

[145] O. F. Gierke, *Political Theories in the Middle Ages,* p. 77, and p. 176, n. 264. "The Prince stands in the middle between Natural Law and Positive; the latter receives its *auctoritas* from him, and he must adapt it to the particular case."

[146] *Politicus,* iv, 1. *Ut nichil sibi princeps licere opinetur, quod a iustitiae aequitate discordet.* Also, *in loco: popolo nichil utilius est quam ut principis necessitas expleatur; quippe cum nec uoluntas eius iustitiae inueniatur aduersa. Est ergo, ut eum plerique diffiniunt, princeps potestas publica et in terris quaedam diuinae maiestatis imago.*

[147] *Ibid.*, viii, 22.

Salisbury with the statement: "Under a good prince it is not the prince himself who governs, but the law."[148] Similarly in Canon Law the Pope was called *lex animata* for his unique relation to the Divine Law, though how generally his claim to such a character was asserted or recognized has not been established.[149]

In conclusion may I remind the reader that I have not attempted a history of the conception of kingship in the Hellenistic period. The Stoic data need going over again; the coins, the inscriptions, Persian and Egyptian conceptions of royalty and the Messiah, these and much else need to be considered anew, while the ideas of royalty in classical Greece should be analyzed much more carefully than I have had space to do here. My purpose has simply been to point out a neglected body of material, in the light of which all this other evidence should be examined, and to indicate in some degree the importance of that new material.

In brief, it has appeared that in politics the conception of the king as himself the state, its constitution, and its link with the world order seems early to have influenced the thinking of Greeks, but to have been developed to great significance only during the Hellenistic age. As represented in the figure of Animate Law it was first assimilated from the East into Greek thinking by the Pythagoreans. When they became interested in it, it is impossible to say. The fragments of Archytas may, of course, be genuine, as Delatte so brilliantly insists, which would make the Pythagorean speculation go back parallel to that of Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle. While I still am inclined to think that this is not the case, actual proof either way is lacking, and the hypothesis of their early date is still entirely possible. But whether the Pythagoreans had earlier assimilated the material, or did so in the Hellenistic period, does not affect the fact that under

[148] John Dickenson. "The Medieval Conception of Kingship and Some of its Limitations, as Developed in the *Politicus* of John of Salisbury," in *Speculum*, I, 335.

[149] The following statement occurs in Ulrich von Hutten's *Epistolae Virorum Obscurorum* II, 5: *Et Papa non est sub lege, sed ipse est lex animata in terris, ut habetur in glosa super capitu xi, de off. Jud. del. Et si Papa est lex, potest facere quid vult et neminem respicere. Et quamvis semel dixit "ita," tamen postea potest dicere "non."* The reference has been traced by Stokes in his edition of the *Epistolae, in loco*, to the *Corpus juris canonici*, Sexti Decretal. Lib. I, Tit. xiv, De Officio et Potest. Judicis Delegat. c. 11, gloss. Yale has unfortunately no copy of the *Corpus Juris Canon.* with the medieval glosses, so I have been unable to check the reference. But Gierke quotes (*loc. cit.*, n. 265) Boniface VIII as saying of the Pope: *qui iura omnia in scrinio pectoris censetur habere.*

Pythagorean colors a great philosophy of royalty was developed. Even though so much has had to be omitted from the present discussion, this philosophy of royalty will, I think, prove to have been the official political philosophy of the Hellenistic age.

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION IN THE ROMAN PROVINCE OF SYRIA

BY GEORGE McLEAN HARPER, JR.

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION IN THE ROMAN PROVINCE OF SYRIA

INTRODUCTION

General definition of the difference between a village and a city. The manner in which a village sometimes developed into a city. Division of the Syrian lands.[1]

IN the ancient world we find a distinction between cities and villages. Ancient as well as modern critics have attempted to explain this difference. Aristotle, in describing the origin of a city, implies that the difference is primarily one of size. He writes: "The union of several village communities forms, when complete, an actual city, attaining so to speak the limit of perfect self-sufficiency: at the outset a union for bare livelihood, it exists to promote a higher life."[2] The village, then, is a group of secondary importance as compared with the city. The city is larger and has what Aristotle terms a higher life. In principle the village is an open town (ἀτείχιστος). Thucydides tells us this when he is describing life in a backward part of Greece, Aetolia.[3] The same description would be applicable to the Ozolian Locrians and the Acarnanians.

The etymology of the word *kome* is not clear. It may be identified with κεῖμαι, as Fougères suggests,[4] but Kuhn connects it with κοιμᾶσθαι.[5] The people of a *kome* are called κωμῆται.[6]

The next problem is the relation between *kome* and *demos*. Aristotle maintained that *kome* and *demos* were the same thing under different names, and that the difference was purely linguistic, the Peloponnesians using *kome* where the Athenians used *demos*.[7] Stephanus of Byzantium agrees with Aristotle.[8] This

1 A bibliography, together with a key to the abbreviations used in the notes, will be found at the end of this paper, pp. 166-168.

2 Aristotle, *Politics*, 1252 b.

3 Thucydides, I, 5, 1; II, 80, 8; III, 94, 4; IV, 43, 1.

4 Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v. kome*, p. 854.

5 Kuhn, *Uber die Enstehung der Städte der Alten*, p. 13 (Leipzig, 1878).

6 Plato, *Leg.*, VII, 794 a; XII, 956 c; Ditt., *Syll.*³, 883, 3; and Wad., 2399, 2505.

7 Aristotle, *Poetics*, III, 1448 a.

8 Steph. Byz., *s.v. demos*.

view is incorrect, as is proved by Kuhn[9] and Fougères.[10] We find *demoi* in the Peloponnese (namely, in Elis), and the τρίκωμοι and τετράκωμοι in Attica.[11] In general we find that the term *kome* is more inclusive, while *demos* is confined to such places as are organic elements and territorial subdivisions of a city community.[12]

But before describing the characteristics of a village more carefully let us look for a moment to its origin. Swoboda maintains that Aristotle's view that the first unit larger than the individual was the family and that out of the family developed the *kome* is wrong.[13] Fougères accepts Aristotle's opinion.[14] It would seem that Swoboda would deny only the universality of this rule, not all particular instances of such a development. Fimmen, on the contrary, puts more faith in the ancient testimony that the settlement in unfortified villages was widespread and well-nigh universal.[15]

Greek philosophers and historians had a twofold interest in villages. First, because they believed that villages were the common unit of early Greek civilization, and second, because the backward parts of the country were still organized on a village basis even in the time of Thucydides and Aristotle. This view of early Greek life is clearly shown by Thucydides.[16] In speaking of piracy, for example, he indicates that its prevalence was owing to the ease with which unfortified villages could be plundered. Now if most of the population was settled in unfortified villages, it is nevertheless true that some fortresses were built, to which flight could be made in case of attack. Such a fortified place was called a *polis,* and a village might be situated below and round its walls. An example of such a *polis* is the Arcadian Mantinea.[17]

W. W. Fowler has distinguished four fundamental characteristics of the village community.[18] These are: kinship of its members, a government by a council composed of the heads of the

[9] Kuhn, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[10] Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v. kome,* p. 857.

[11] Kuhn, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff.; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v. kome,* p. 854.

[12] Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde,* I, p. 146, n. 1.

[13] Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. kome,* p. 951.

[14] Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v. kome,* pp. 853 ff.

[15] Fimmen, *Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur,* p. 28 (Berlin, 1924); *cf.* Thucydides, I, 5, 1; I, 10, 2.

[16] Thucydides, I, 2; I, 5.

[17] Pausanias, VIII, 12, 7. For the *polis* in Attica, see De Sanctis, *Ἀτθίς*², pp. 27 ff. (New York, 1912).

[18] Fowler, *The City State of the Greeks and Romans,* pp. 30 ff. (London and New York, 1895).

families which constitute the group, community of property, and common worship. There can be no doubt of the general truth of Fowler's view. Where we find divergence from this rule we shall discover that there has been only modification and development, not a radical change. For example, instead of finding a council of family heads in control of a village we may find a headman. We cannot tell whether the headman or the council is the older institution, but clearly either they worked together, if found in the same village, or where only one or the other was present, the one present fulfilled the same functions as the other would have done had it been present. Where a council exists it is almost necessary for it to have a leader to call it together. His powers may be purely nominal, or he may even supersede the council entirely.[19] The point to bear in mind is that where no council exists the headman probably fulfills its functions.

Similarly we may find a modification of the rule that the members of the community are bound together by kinship. As a village comes down through the years, its members may forget their common origin. It may be that outsiders not possessing a common heritage creep in. At all events, the unity of blood is supplanted by a unity of interest, born of a long possession of common land and common fortune. In the same way the communal land of the village may belong to it in different degrees. Either the village may own it outright, or the village itself may be the property of a city or landlord, only managing its land in common by the permission of its master. Also the traces of a worship peculiar to a village are often effaced by the spread of a common religion such as Christianity.

The tendency of history seems to be for men to aggregate themselves in ever larger units. First comes the family, then follows the village, next the city, and finally the nation. But there was a period in the history of Greece when villages were the largest units. No collective authority united these communities. A description of the condition of affairs in Attica before the time of Theseus, which Thucydides gives us, well illustrates this fact: *ἐπὶ γὰρ Κέκροπος καὶ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐς Θησέα ἀεὶ κατὰ πόλεις ᾠκεῖτο πρυτανεῖά τε ἐχούσας καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ ὁπότε μή τι δείσειαν, οὐ ξυνῇσαν βουλευσόμενοι ὡς τὸν βασιλέα, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι ἐπολίτευον καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο.*[20] Each little town was an independent unit with the vague title of *polis*. Thucydides probably uses the expression

[19] Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[20] Thucydides, II, 15.

κατὰ πόλεις to show that the towns of Attica were independent, for had he used such an expression as κατὰ κώμας, it would have led to confusion, since in his time the word *kome* was not associated with independence but with dependence. The expressions κατὰ κώμας, κωμηδόν, and κατὰ δήμους came in at a time when the contrast between people living in a central city and those living in isolated villages had already appeared.[21] At first, of course, there was no such distinction, and each unit was independent, so that Thucydides is quite correct in using the expression κατὰ πόλεις to avoid an anachronism of a sort. This primitive state was modified by the necessities of defense against external aggression and piracy. Towns which could afford the expense girded themselves with a wall.[22] Villages in the vicinity of such a fortified town would come to regard it as their place of refuge in case of attack, and this fact tended to put an end to the complete independence and isolation of each village.

In other parts of Greece as well as in Attica we find *komai* as the underlying unit. This is true of the Aetolians[23] as late as 314 B.C., when a sympolity was formed,[24] but under the sympolity we find a gradual concentration of the population into the cities in the middle, even if traces of the old village system remained.[25] The villages which centered about a fortified city might at first maintain their autonomy, but a great step in advance was taken when each of them surrendered its own peculiar local powers, and helped to form a government in common with other villages settled about the fortress. In describing the foundation of Athens by Theseus, Thucydides pictures such a development: καταλύσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τά τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὖσαν, ἓν βουλευτήριον ἀποδείξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον, ξυνῴκισε πάντας. . . .[26] To be sure it is quite possible that Thucydides made few scientific researches into Attic antiquities, but his conclusions coincide with the probable truth. In 314 B.C., as a result of the invasion of Cassander, the Acarnanians bordering on the Aetolians made settlements in strong places,[27] and developed an Acarnanian sympolity.[28] The same conditions held true for the Ozolian Locrians

21 Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v. kome*, p. 853.
22 Thucydides, I, 8.
23 Thucydides, III, 94, 4; III, 97, 1.
24 Diodorus, XVIII, 24, 2; XVIII, 25, 1; XIX, 74, 6.
25 Swoboda, *Staatsaltertümer*, p. 331, 3.
26 Thucydides, II, 15.
27 Diodorus, XX, 67, 4 ff.
28 Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

as for the Acarnanians.[29] In general it may be said that the village was the common unit of life in early Greek times.[30]

We have seen that the villages sometimes surrendered some of their local powers and combined in a central city. Sometimes the villagers would continue to live in their villages, but often they would move into the new city. This process of centralization was known as synoecism. The advantages of life in these larger units overruled the disadvantages. Life in villages necessitated living in arms, as there were no adequate means of defense. Its greatest advantage, on the other hand, was its adaptability to agricultural pursuits. But, as I have said, the advantages of city life prevailed, and only backward people continued their village life. Historians speak in a derogatory fashion of living *κατὰ κώμας*. Strabo writes, *ἄγριοι γὰρ οἱ κατὰ κώμας οἰκοῦντες*.[31] The villages of a city formed by synoecism lost sovereignty and became politically impotent. Their material prosperity would depend upon circumstances.

Swoboda has shown that the union of several villages did not necessarily mean a decrease in the power of the villages composing this union.[32] The reason for forming a union was to increase the power of defense, or to foster some particular cult, or to further economic interests. Unions of *komai,* which in many cases had the citadel as the central point, often confront us among the Ozolian Locrians.[33] These *συστήματα δήμων* are found in Achaea and Arcadia and are mentioned by Strabo.[34] According to Strabo, Mantinea was originally a union of five *komai,* and Tegea and Heraea of nine *komai.* But this does not imply the subservience of the *komai.*

There appear to have been various types of synoecism. Sometimes several villages would form a voluntary combination. Part of the village population transferred to the new city of their own free will, entirely without coercion, and the rest remained in the villages surrounding the city. This is the way in which Mantinea, Tegea, and Heraea were formed,[35] and also the other Arcadian cities which we hear of in the fourth century before Christ. The Achaean cities also developed in this fashion.[36]

29 Busolt, *op. cit.,* I, 146.
30 Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. kome,* pp. 950-955.
31 Strabo, III, 163.
32 Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. kome,* p. 955.
33 Busolt, *loc. cit.*
34 Strabo, VIII, 337, 386. *Cf.* Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. kome,* p. 955.
35 Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. kome,* p. 955.
36 Strabo, VIII, 337, 386.

Another type of synoecism resulted when a village, becoming more powerful than the neighboring villages, developed into a city and forced the other villages to become dependent upon it. In a case of this sort the people of the dependent villages would not be given a share in the political rights of the new city.[37] The relation of Sparta to the perioecic towns, which were for the most part unfortified, was of this character.[38] It was not uncommon for a city to be deprived of its independence and to be made dependent upon another city and, politically speaking, to be regarded as a village. Such was the fate of Mycenae, which was made a village dependent upon Argos.[39] Swoboda points out that with the introduction of democracy the villagers achieved political equality with those living in the city.[40] The result is that in the end the situation of the inhabitants of villages which had been forced into a position dependent upon a city would be the same as that of those who lived in villages which had participated in a voluntary synoecism. That is, they would enjoy full civic rights in the new city. That this was the case with the village of Mycenae is proved by the fact that the φυλαί of Argos extended to the Myceneans also.[41]

Sometimes a synoecism was not the natural result of one village being more powerful than its neighbors, but was the result of the arbitrary foundation of a city by some prince. A city would be founded, and villages in the neighborhood would be incorporated. Only part of the villagers would go into the new city. The villages would retain some of their inhabitants, and thus the villages did not cease to exist. Demetrias, founded by Demetrius Poliorcetes, is a good example of such a synoecism.[42] We cannot determine the relationship of the people who lived in the city to those who remained in the villages. The transplantation of the villagers to the new city may have been either voluntary or compulsory. Again in certain cases only some of the villagers may have been compelled to take up their residence in the new city, whereas in other cases whole villages may have been transplanted. In the latter event the villages would cease to exist. Swoboda gives a clear account of the history of the development of Megalopolis.[43] This city was composed of the population of thirty-nine

[37] Kuhn, *op. cit.*, pp. 186 ff., 194 ff.
[38] Busolt, *op. cit.*, I, 139 ff.; II, 636, 663.
[39] Ditt., *Syll.*[3], 594.
[40] Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. kome*, p. 957.
[41] Ditt., *Syll.*[3], 594.
[42] Strabo, X, 436; Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 53.
[43] Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. kome*, 959.

villages. Pausanias' account of the opposition of the inhabitants of these villages to transplantation[44] and Diodorus' account of their attempt to break away after they had been incorporated, following the battle of Mantinea, which attempt was frustrated by Pammenes, show that the synoecism was not complete before 361 B.C., after which time the villages that had contributed inhabitants to Megalopolis became uninhabited and were entirely abandoned.[45] Only a few of the villages thereafter continued to exist as *komai* of Megalopolis.

The counterpart of synoecism was dioecism or the dissolution of a city into its original villages or other villages. Dioecism, however, was not a phase of the historical development of political institutions. It was rather a check, imposed by conquerors upon the conquered, against the tendency to form ever larger units. Occasionally the dissolution of a city may have been the result of economic rather than military causes. A city may well have found it impossible to support life as a unit, and consequently have disbanded into villages. A good example of dioecism is afforded by Mantinea, which was dismembered in 384 B.C. by the Spartans into five *komai*.[46] This dioecism of Mantinea was soon followed by a new synoecism in 370 B.C.[47] The Greek historians tell us that after the peace of Philocrates in 346 B.C. the Phocian cities were broken up and divided again into villages.[48]

In these pages something has been said of the origin, the nature, and the development of village communities in Greece. We must now seek to discover whether similar conditions prevailed in other parts of the ancient world, and especially in Syria, the particular subject of this study. We must bear in mind from the outset that it is impossible to lay down general laws about conditions in Syria that apply to the whole of Syria. Since conditions in the various parts of Syria differed, it will be advisable to attempt to distinguish between these parts. Rostovtzeff to this end has made a useful division of the Syrian lands.[49] He divides Syria into the Aramean north lands, bordering on Asia Minor, the Phoenician coast, Palestine, and the lands bordering on the desert. Then there are the Transjordanian lands, the so-called Decapolis, and Arabia Petraea. In the North Syrian lands in Hellenistic and

[44] Pausanias, VIII, 27, 5 ff.
[45] Diodorus, XV, 94, 1-3.
[46] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V, 2, 7; Pausanias, VIII, 8, 9; Polybius, IV, 27, 6.
[47] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI, 5, 3 f.
[48] Diodorus, XVI, 60, 2; Pausanias, X, 3, 1-2.
[49] Rostovtzeff, *A Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 244-253 (Oxford, 1926).

Roman times there were four prominent cities: Antioch, Apamea, Laodicea, and Seleucia. These four cities probably controlled most of the land in North Syria. These cities were founded in Hellenistic times, and at least part of the city population was Greek. The villages surrounding them were of course entirely composed of natives, who certainly had no share in the government of the cities. In addition to the city territories of North Syria we also discover land belonging to temples, such as the land connected with the village of Baetocaece, which will be discussed later.[50]

Little is known of the organization of the cities on the Phoenician coast, but it is apparent that they were important as commercial and industrial centers. Rostovtzeff has pointed out that in Palestine a distinction must be made between the old Graeco-Philistine cities of the coast, such as Gaza, Joppa, and Askalon on the one hand, and the new foundations of Herod on the other. A third type was the Roman city of Neapolis. The Hellenized cities managed their territory and surrounding villages much as other Hellenic cities did, but the greater part of Palestine was a land of villages. The Gospels give us a clear idea of the pastoral life of the people. We see that part of the land was under the control of large landowners who were patrons of the villages.[51] When we turn to the lands east of the Jordan, namely, to Batanea, Auranitis, and Trachonitis, we find a different situation. Under Alexander and his successors many cities were founded in these regions. Native villages were transformed into Hellenic cities, but gradually they relapsed into their original condition. Under the Romans, however, there was a rebirth of colonization in connection with the attempt made by the Romans to supplant the old pastoral life by an agricultural life. The Romans were deeply interested in the prosperity of this part of the country, and the interest which they felt is reflected in the large number of buildings that were constructed by the Romans in the cities and villages. Although there were cities in these regions, the villages appear to have retained their independence to a greater extent here than they did in other parts of Syria, and the result of this was that village organization was more fully developed in Batanea, Auranitis, and Trachonitis than elsewhere in Syria.

Appian gives a list of the cities founded by Seleucus in his kingdom, and they are fifty-nine in number.[52] It was by the

[50] I.G.R.R., III, 1020.
[51] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 249.
[52] Appian, *Syriaca*, 57.

foundation of these polities that the work of Hellenization was carried out. Of the cities founded by Seleucus the greater part lay in Syria, between the Euphrates and the sea.[53] Antiochus continued this work and was particularly active in developing the urban system in the eastern portion of his kingdom.[54] Then there followed a period of lesser activity in the foundation of cities, but in the reign of Antiochus IV there was a revival, especially in Palestine, a new acquisition of the Seleucid empire. As a result of this foundation of a large number of cities in Syria by the Seleucids little work of this sort was left to the Romans to do after their annexation of Syria as a province in 64 B.C. In the more backward districts where the Seleucids had planted few cities, the Romans were contented to let matters rest very much as they found them. But those cities which Rome did found were for the most part the result of development in trade routes and for the establishment of veterans.[55]

The fact that the record of but few foundations of cities in Syria exists has a direct bearing upon the extent of our knowledge as to the manner in which villages rose to the status of cities. Had more cities been founded by the Romans, we should probably have either literary or epigraphical reference to the promotion of villages to cities. But the fact is that there is but slight inscriptional evidence on this point, and the literary evidence is not so great as we could wish. In regard to the foundation of cities by the Seleucid kings, all we have is the bald statement that cities were founded, but as to the manner in which they were founded we are left in ignorance.[56] We are told that these cities were built by Seleucus Nicator, but it is probable that in many places where such a city was built a village already stood, to form, as it were, the nucleus of the new city. But some evidence does in fact exist regarding the promotion of a village to the rank of city, or the gathering together of villages to form a city.

Josephus has given us an account of the foundation of the city of Tiberias on the west shore of the lake of Gennesereth by Herod Antipas, which reminds us of a Greek synoecism: "And now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favor with Tiberius, built a city of the same name with him, and called it Tiberias. He built

[53] Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire* (translated by W. P. Dickson), II, 132 (New York, 1906).

[54] Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism*, p. 196 (Boston, 1913).

[55] The planting of a colony of veterans by Agrippa at Berytus is an instance of the latter type of development. See Strabo, XVI, 2, 19.

[56] Appian, *Syriaca*, 57.

it in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesereth. There are warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village named Emmaus. Strangers came and inhabited this city; a great number of the inhabitants were Galileans also; and many were necessitated by Herod to come thither out of the country belonging to him, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants; some of them were persons of condition. He also admitted poor people, such as those that were collected from all parts to dwell in it. Nay, some of them were not quite freemen; and these he was a benefactor to, and made them free in great numbers; but obliged them not to forsake the city, by building them very good houses at his own expense, and by giving them land also."[57] Compulsion was used in this case, and both rich and poor were forced to take part in the synoecism. The site was chosen because of the proximity of warm baths and the fact that it was on the lake of Gennesereth. Some of the new citizens came from regions outside of Galilee, but others apparently came from the neighboring villages. No mention is made of these villages directly, but we know very well that Galilee was a land covered with hundreds of villages.[58] One gathers from this account of Josephus that village life was preferred to city life by the Galileans, as Herod has to force the inhabitants of the new city not to forsake it, and induces them to stay by giving freely from his own purse.

Josephus also tells us that Philip the tetrarch advanced the village Bethsaida, by the lake of Gennesereth, to the dignity of city.[59] It was given the name Julias in honor of the daughter of Augustus, which is quite strong evidence that the foundation must have taken place before the year 2 B.C., since Augustus banished Julia in that year.[60] Nothing is said by Josephus to indicate that there was any transfer of new people to help compose the city of Julias.

Another interesting example of the rise of a village to the status of city is the rise of a village sometimes called Ἐακκαία and sometimes Σακκαία to the rank of city with the name Philippopolis. The city of Philippopolis was founded in all probability in A.D. 244. The reason for the elevation of this village was that it was the birthplace of the emperor Philip, and he wished to honor it

[57] Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XVIII, 2, 3 (translation by W. Whiston). For the character of the population of Tiberias see Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, chap. VII, n. 30.

[58] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

[59] Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XVIII, 2, 1.

[60] Beer, in Pauly-Wissowa, under *Julias*. See also Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, II[4], 208 (Leipzig, 1898-1902).

by changing its status and making it a Roman colony.[61] The new city was doubtless composed not only of the inhabitants of the village which stood on this site but also of the other members of their tribe. These people are properly known as the Saccaei.[62] The city was also augmented by another element, namely, Roman colonists, for we know that Philippopolis became a Roman colony.[63]

The development of villages into cities by synoecism or by the implanting of colonists from abroad is the most natural course of advance, but we have evidence of another sort of promotion, which to us appears highly artificial. The Romans bestowed the title and rights of a city upon a town as a reward for good conduct, and withdrew these rights as a punishment for disloyalty. Thus we find in Herodian the account of the degradation of Byzantium and of Antioch.[64] Antioch was made dependent upon Laodicea. The reason that Severus deprived Antioch of its civic status was that it had helped Niger in his revolt.[65] Severus also took away the civic rights of Neapolis in Palestine.[66] Both Antioch and Neapolis were degraded from their rank as cities, but in neither instance is there any evidence of dioecism. In fact, we know that Antioch very soon regained its position of preëminence.[67] We cannot suppose that the city of Antioch underwent any radical change when it lost its high status, and conversely its reëntry into imperial favor can have been marked by no important outward change.[68]

Three methods emerge by which a village might rise to the rank of city. The first method was by synoecism. The usual type of development was the synoecism of a cluster of villages, as in the case of Tiberias. The second method was by the infusion of a body of colonists. In some cases the colonists may have been legionary veterans, as at Berytus. Often these two methods may

[61] W. Kubitschek, "Zur Geschichte von Städten des römischen Kaiserreiches," in *Sitz. Wien. Akad.*, 177 (1916), pp. 40 ff.

[62] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, chap. VII, n. 32.

[63] Kubitschek, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[64] Herodian, III, 6.

[65] *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vita Severi*, IX, 4; *Vita Caracallae*, I, 7; see also Platnauer, *The Life and Reign of Septimius Severus*, p. 92 (Oxford, 1918).

[66] *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vita Severi*, IX, 5.

[67] Platnauer, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

[68] The promotion of Abonuteichos to be the new city of Ionopolis in Asia Minor is a good instance of the arbitrary promotion of a village. See Lucian, *Alexander the False Prophet*, 58; *cf.* G. Hirschfeld in *Sitz. Berl. Akad.* (1888), p. 886, for two inscriptions from this city.

have been combined, as was probably the case at Philippopolis. The third method was by the proclamation of the emperor or of someone else in authority, either as a reward for meritorious service or because of personal reasons. Conversely, a city may have been degraded to the rank of village either by dioecism, or by the proclamation of authority as a punishment for disloyalty. This latter type of degradation was probably seldom, if ever, attended by an actual dioecism.

Cities also may have fallen to the position of villages by reason of an adverse change in the trade routes or by economic pressure of one sort or another. Moreover, the coming or the departure of troops may have sensibly affected the progress or decline of a community. In some cases villages may have grouped themselves into a city to form a stronger defense against aggression. The rulers of the land, on the other hand, may have dissolved cities into villages in order to weaken possible centers of revolt against their administration.

I.

The organization of the Syrian village. Its officers, assemblies, and councils.

1. Village Officials.

THIS section purposes to deal only with those officials who are purely local functionaries of the village, but it is often difficult to determine which of the officials mentioned in inscriptions and in our literary sources are really local and which are representatives of some higher unit upon which the village may depend. We do, however, discover in inscriptions dealing with villages in Syria a number of titles which clearly belong to village officials. We know the titles of these officials, but comparatively little is known of their peculiar functions. Of course in some cases the title itself gives an indication of the general nature of the office. We can often form a reasonable judgment as to whether an office was a high one or a low, and within these limits we can make further distinctions. The names of some offices indicate the superiority of those offices, while other offices appear more highly specialized and inferior.

To the category of high village officials clearly belongs the

komarchos. The existence of such officials in various parts of the ancient world is well attested.[69] However, a *komarchos* is mentioned in a single inscription of Syria only:

> ἔτους ενχ', Ἀρτεμισίου β', ἐτελέσθη τὸ κτίσμα
> Εὐστολίου, ἐπὶ Ἀ(γ)απητοῦ, τοῦ πραγματευτοῦ, κὲ
> Ἀββώσου κωμάρχ(ο)υ.[70]

We see in this inscription that a building of some sort was finished under the agent Agapetos and a *komarchos* named Abbosos. The date of this inscription is A.D. 344, and it comes from Il-Mishrifeh in northern Syria. We cannot judge from this inscription whether Abbosos was the sole *komarchos* of his village or not. Although this is the only inscription of Syria in which mention is made of a *komarchos,* the speech of Libanius, Περὶ τῶν Προστασιῶν, in which he discusses the evils arising from the patronage of villages, makes it apparent that the title *komarchos* was familiar in Syria. This speech was probably delivered between the years 386 and 389 of our era.[71] In this speech the village *archons* are represented as being interfered with by the patrons,[72] and they appear to be the principal officers of their villages. The inscription cited above and this oration by Libanius are both of them fourth century documents, but we have no reason to suppose, by the argument *e silentio,* that village *archons* were a new creation of that century.

However, despite the lack of evidence, the *komarchos* may have been quite a common official in Syria, for we find *komarchoi* often mentioned in inscriptions from Asia Minor, where governmental conditions seem to have been quite analogous to those in Syria. For example, on the road between Sardis and Philadelphia was found an inscription in which two *komarchoi* figure.[73] It is interesting to discover that a *summa honoraria* was paid by the *komarchoi* of certain Lydian villages. The amount of the *summa honoraria* in the period between A.D. 213 and A.D. 272 advanced from 250 to 500, to 750, and finally to 1,000 denarii. Another interesting feature is that the position of *komarchos* in these vil-

[69] Xenophon, *Anabasis,* IV, 5, 10; Pollux, *Onomasticon,* IX, 11; C.I.G., 3420, 3641 b, line 66; O.G.I.S., 527, line 110; I.G.R.R., I, 721 and 728; and I.G.R.R., III, 886.

[70] P.A.E.S., 881.

[71] Zulueta, "De Patrociniis Vicorum," pp. 39 f., in *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History* (Oxford, 1909).

[72] Libanius, Περὶ τῶν Προστασιῶν, 7.

[73] Wad., 1669.

lages was sometimes held by the citizen of a community other than the village concerned, which suggests that the position may have been almost nominal in some cases and have been granted to these persons *honoris causa.*[74] We learn further from another Lydian inscription that a *katoikia* could have *archons.* This inscription comes from Darmara.[75] *Komarchoi* are also mentioned in an inscription from Lampsacus.[76] In an inscription from Hierapolis in Phrygia we learn something about the duties of the *komarchos.* It appears that unjust demands were put upon the *komarchoi* by officials known as *paraphylakes.* This inscription is a decree of the city of Hierapolis which sets forth the demands which the *paraphylakes* may justly make upon the villages and the *komarchoi,* and it will be considered more fully later in connection with village expenditure.[77]

Whether the idea of collegiality was inseparable from the office of *komarchos* cannot be determined with finality. In two of the inscriptions cited, two *komarchoi* are expressly mentioned by name, and in none of the other inscriptions connected with this office is there anything which shows that it could not be held by more than one man.

It has been said that the *komarchos* appears in only one inscription from Syria, but the oration of Libanius cited above adds weight to the belief that such an officer was not uncommon. Moreover, it should be noted that in the Syrian inscriptions it is but seldom that an official is mentioned whose presence would probably exclude that of a *komarchos.* Only the title of *protokometes* and *strategos* seem to indicate supremacy, and thereby make the existence of a *komarchos* unlikely in the particular villages in which they appear. It is probably mere chance that only one mention is made of a *komarchos* in the inscriptions of Syria. One reason for this may be that most of the village inscriptions of Syria concern the erection of buildings and monuments, and with these works other officers were concerned who had charge of the disposal of funds.

Leontius Neapolitanus in his life of St. Symeon mentions a *protokometes* in Syria,[78] and in the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius there is also a reference to such an official in the following words:

[74] See Keil and von Premerstein in D.W.A., vol. 57, p. 79, no. 109; no. 109, note; no. 110; and Fontrier in Μουσεῖον, 1886, pp. 87 f.

[75] Γ. Σαραντίδης in *Ath. Mitt.,* XX (1895), 242.

[76] C.I.G., 3641 b, lines 66 ff.

[77] O.G.I.S., 527.

[78] Leontius Neapolitanus, Migne, 1725 d.

ἔοικας τῷ τῆς πλησίον κώμης πρωτοκωμήτῃ.[79] From Leontius and Palladius we get the distinct impression that the *protokometes* was a single officer, not one of a group of colleagues. If he be the only man in his village with such a title, he must be the headman of that village, for otherwise his title would be exceedingly misleading. An inscription from Il-Umta Iyeh in Auranitis mentions a *protokometes* who appears to have been the headman of the village, if the restoration of the word *protokometes* be correct. It reads as follows:

> Και(αμα)[ς] (ἐ)π(οί)ση Θ(εῷ) τῷ
> ΑΩ. Κ(ύρι)ε ἐπισήμ(ηνον). μ(νήσθητι), Κ(ύριε) Χ(ρ)ιστ(έ)
> ναιοῦ σ(οῦ). πρωτοκω(μήτου) αὐλή.[80]

From Agraena (old name) in Trachonitis comes another inscription in which the restoration of the word *protokometes* is possible, although quite uncertain: Χαιρανης Νιδ(ρ)ου Οτουου Αιατου ἐτ(ῶν) ο', πρωτ[ο]κ[ωμη]τ[ης?].[81] Another inscription, from Raifa in Auranitis, should be considered in this connection. The reading of Fossey follows:

> Σευῆρος
> Οὐαβιέλου προτ[ίκτωρ
> κ]ώμ(ης) Καπαραζίζ(ω)ν
> κεκτημένος ἐν τῇ
> μ(η)τρ[ο]κ[ωμίᾳ] Ῥόγα(?)[82]

Reinach suggests that the reading προτ[ίκτωρ κ]ώμ(ης) be changed to προτ[οκ]ώμις.[83] Perhaps, however, προτ[οκ]ωμ[ήτης] might be read.

There is no further mention of a *protokometes* either in the inscriptions of Syria or in literature concerning Syria, and it is noteworthy that in every instance cited, the *protokometes* appears to have been the only official with such a title in his village. This differentiates the Syrian *protokometes* from the *protokometes* in Egypt, for we have evidence that the villages of Egypt had a college of *protokometai*.[84]

79 Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, Migne, 1169 b.
80 P.A.E.S., 38.
81 *Ibid.*, 793[9].
82 Fossey in B.C.H., XXI (1897), p. 54, no. 54 b.
83 Reinach in R.E.G., XI (1898), 339.
84 See *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, I, no. 133, in which we find the phrases τὸ κοινὸν τῶν πρωτοκωμητῶν. For the *protokometes* in Asia Minor see Keil and von Premerstein in D.W.A., LIV, 72, no. 152, and H. S. Cronin in J.H.S., XXII (1902), 358, no. 119.

Strategoi appear in several inscriptions from the villages of Syria. At Schechbe in Batanea was found an inscription dated between A.D. 177 and 180 in which a *strategos* is mentioned. The inscription contains the following phrase: ἐπὶ Αἰλάμου Δαβάνου στρατηγοῦ.[85] We learn from the rest of the inscription that it was inscribed under the direction of a centurion of the Legio XVI Flavia Firma. The use of the word ἐπὶ seems to show that the *strategos* was the eponymous magistrate of the community. Schechbe is the site of the ancient city of Philippopolis, but at the time of this inscription it had not yet been made a city.[86] Before this time a village occupied the site and Ailamos was the *strategos* of the village.

An inscription was found at Kefr-Liha in Auranitis, which contains the following phrase: οἱ κωμῆται ἔκτισαν ἐξ ἰδίων τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐκ φιλοτιμίας τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ὀνομάτων, στρατηγείας Οὐλ(πίου) Σκαυριανοῦ.[87] The date of this inscription is A.D. 236. The name of the *strategos* is Ulpius Scaurianus; Waddington assumes without question that he is the *strategos* of the village and Cagnat appears to support him in this view. This is a reasonably safe conclusion, but not an absolutely sure one. Ulpius Scaurianus may have been the *strategos* of some unit larger than the village, but the arrangement of the words points to Waddington's conclusion. At Ma'arritt Betar in the Djebel Riha was found another inscription testifying to the existence of a *strategos* of a village, if the reading be correct: ἔτο[υς] αξφ'. Βαρούμμ[ου] τοῦ Διονυσίου στρατη(γ)οῦ [κώμ]ης, ἐπὶ ἐγενόμην. μη[νὸς] Πανήμου δκ'. εὖδε.[88]

We can see from an inscription of Eitha in Trachonitis that a *strategos* may have been the eponymous magistrate of that community. The inscription ends thus: ἐπὶ Ἡρακλίτου Χάρητος στρατηγοῦ.[89]

In the inscriptions just cited the *strategos* appears to be the most important official in his village. His name is apparently used in fixing the year. From this we may conclude either that he was the one supreme official of the village or at least that his was the eponymous office. The first conclusion is the more probable, and it is quite likely that where there was a *strategos* there was no *komarchos*. But in an inscription from Sha-Ara in Trachonitis

[85] I.G.R.R., III, 1195.

[86] Kubitschek, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff.

[87] I.G.R.R., III, 1213. This is the same as Wad., 2399. For comment see Waddington's note to this inscription.

[88] A.A.E.S., part III, no. 150.

[89] I.G.R.R., III, 1137; see also Wad., 2113, n., for the status of the town.

dated between A.D. 161 and 169 three *strategoi* appear who seem to constitute the supreme administrative board of the community. The inscription ends with the following words: Πρόκλος Γερμανοῦ καὶ Σαιος Ζοβαιδου καὶ Αδειος Αβαβου στρατηγοὶ ἀνέθηκαν.[90]

At Palmyra the title of *strategos* was used by the *duoviri* of the colony, and appears in many inscriptions of this city between A.D. 224 and 262.[91] This is not relevant to the question of village *strategoi* except to show that at Palmyra *strategoi* were the highest officials of the city, and that the title of *strategos* might be expected to apply to the highest officials of a village.[92]

No mention of a *komogrammateus* is made anywhere in the East except in Egypt and Palestine. In Egypt he was a very important official, as is evident from many papyri and inscriptions. In Egypt the *komogrammateus* was the assistant of the *komarchos,* and had charge of the village archives and the grain register on which taxes were based. He appears to have been the second highest officer of the Egyptian village. Both the *komarchos* and the *komogrammateus* were inferior to the *strategos,* who was in charge of the *nome.*[93] Of course the whole system of municipal organization in Egypt was unlike that of the rest of the ancient world, but Herod introduced certain elements of this system into Palestine. For example, Josephus frequently refers to the three toparchies of Samaria, Galilee, and Perea which adjoin Judaea.[94] This organization of the country on the Egyptian model seems to have extended down even into village administration, for we find the *komogrammateus* here also. In his account of the domestic troubles of Herod, Josephus tells us that the sons of Herod by one wife threatened that if they should secure the kingdom they would degrade Herod's sons by his former wives to the position of *komogrammateis.*[95] In this passage the *komogrammateus* is spoken of in a derogatory manner, but we should not infer from this that he stood low in the list of village officials, for it would be sufficient degradation for a son of Herod to be connected with the administration of a village in any capacity. Josephus' words

90 P.A.E.S., 803.

91 Wad., 2597, 2598, 2606 a, 2607.

92 From Aphrodisias in Caria comes an inscription mentioning *strategoi* of a different character (Wad., 1611). They were styled *strategoi ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας.* They appear to have been officials of the city, but supervised the villages in the territory of the city.

93 Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v. kome,* p. 859.

94 Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews,* XIII, 2, 3.

95 *Ibid.,* XVI, 7, 3.

suggest perhaps that bookkeeping was a part of the duty of the *komogrammateus,* and this is what we should expect to be the case.

No further reference is made to a *komogrammateus* outside of Egypt. An inscription from Chamon in Syria, however, may be mentioned, in which we see that a village probably had a secretary. The inscription reads thus: ἡ κώμη ἐπο(ί)ησεν κὲ τὴν δαπάνην τῆς κώμης Βηλιάβος Σαφαρᾶ [ἔ]γραψ[ε]ν.[96] Beliabos apparently kept a record of the expenses in connection with the erection of this building or statue, whichever it was. His function closely corresponds to that of the Egyptian *komogrammateus.* Whether or not Beliabos was entitled *grammateus,* it is reasonable to regard him as a sort of financial secretary.[97]

The next group of officials to be considered comprises those officials who appear to have had charge of public works and the disposal of funds. This group includes the *pistoi, pronoetai, dioiketai,* and *epimeletai.* W. K. Prentice has published an instructive article upon the nature and duties of these officials.[98] He has discussed these officers in the light of the meaning of the phrase ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς. He has indicated that although πρόνοια and σπουδή convey somewhat different notions, both terms are often ascribed to the same person or persons in the same inscription.[99] However, when either of these words is used in an inscription which shows that the persons in charge of the public work differed in authority, πρόνοια is usually attributed to those in higher authority and σπουδή to inferior officials.[100] Prentice further points out that neither πρόνοια nor σπουδή necessarily implies the initiative in the decision to undertake a public work, and there are inscriptions which show that the use of these terms does not necessarily involve provision for the expense of the undertaking on the part of the officials mentioned as acting by or with πρόνοια or σπουδή.[101] It appears moreover that certain equivalent phrases or expressions are sometimes used instead of ἐκ προνοίας

[96] I.G.R.R., III, 1074.

[97] An understanding of the position of the *grammateus* in the cities of the East may help us in our knowledge of the village *grammateus.* See Chapot, *La Province Romaine Proconsulaire d'Asie,* pp. 243 ff. (Paris, 1904), and Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,* pp. 388 f. (Oxford, 1895-1897).

[98] Prentice in A.P.A., XLIII (1912), 113-123.

[99] Wad., 1910, 1964, 1970, 2046, 2188, 2217, 2239.

[100] A.A.E.S., part III, 432 c.

[101] P.A.E.S., 915, 992, 993; Wad., 2187, 2053 b.

καὶ σπουδῆς.[102] Prentice has concluded that the use of the word ἐπί with the name of an official is equivalent to the use of the expression ἐκ προνοίας with the name of that official, and that διά corresponds in similar fashion to ἐκ σπουδῆς or σπουδῇ.[103] In view of these considerations he believes that πρόνοια has to do with the formation of a plan and σπουδή with its execution. Prentice quotes a passage from Polybius to support this view: "If there should be need to send an embassy, to settle a difficulty, or to convey an invitation, or to deliver a command, or to take possession, or to declare war it [the Senate] makes the arrangement (ποιεῖται τὴν πρόνοιαν)."[104]

Let us now make a study of these officials, commencing with the *pistoi*. It is noteworthy that they are seldom mentioned singly and that they are always connected with some public work or building. We must not, however, argue from this that they had no other function. We shall see that πρόνοια rather than σπουδή characterizes their activity. The number of *pistoi* varies considerably in the different inscriptions. From Btheine in Batanea comes the following inscription: Αὖσος Γαύτου Θεό[δω]ρος Πασιφείλου, Ὄνενος Αβίβου, Ἄναμος Γαύτου, Ζόβεδος Ναταμέλου πιστοὶ ἀνέγειραν τὸ τυχῖον ἐκ τὸ τῆς κώ[μ]η[ς.[105] We see that five *pistoi* have erected a temple to Fortune with the funds of the village.[106] *Pistoi* appear in three inscriptions found at Wakm (modern name) in Trachonitis. In one of these we learn that the number of *pistoi* was three and that a house was built at the common expense of the whole village. The inscription reads thus: ὑπατίας Σαβίνου καὶ Ῥουφίνου ἐκτίσθη ὁ οἶκος ἐκ κοινῆς δαπάνης πάσ(η)ς τῆς κώμ(ης) διὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου κ(αὶ) Οὐίκτορος καὶ Σατορνίλου πιστ[ῶν].[107] As this house was built at common expense it seems likely that it was a public house of some kind. The date of this inscription is A.D. 316. The other inscriptions from this site are fragmentary, but in one we see that the number of *pistoi* was six and in the other, seven.[108]

Two inscriptions from Deir-el-Leben in Auranitis mention *pistoi*. The first of them reads as follows: Διὸς ἀνικήτου Ἡλίου θεοῦ

102 A.A.E.S., part III, 305, 306; P.A.E.S., 915, 992; Wad., 1963, 2053 b, 2497.

103 Wad., 2042, 2043, 2044, 2046, 2238, 2239, 2239 a, 2240.

104 Polybius, VI, 13, 6.

105 Wad., 2127.

106 *Pistoi* appear in another inscription from this same site (Wad., 2130), but the inscription is too fragmentary and the Greek too poor for us to learn the number of the *pistoi* or what they did.

107 P.A.E.S., 788.

108 *Ibid.*, 788[2], 788[1].

Αὔμου ἐκτίσθη τὸ περιβόλεον τῆς αὐλῆς διὰ Κασσίου Μαλιχάθου κώμ(ης) Ρειμέας καὶ Παύλου Μαξιμίνου κώμης Μαρδόχων, πιστῶν.[109] This is a case in which a man with the title of *pistos* seems to represent his village in an enterprise undertaken by two villages in common. The *pistoi* of two villages take part in the construction of a court for the god. Each village, however, is represented by but one *pistos,* which is unusual, as we find extremely few instances of this. In another inscription Cassius appears not as *pistos* of Rimea alone, but of both Rimea and Rodon.[110] In this instance the *pistoi* erect an altar to the god. We cannot be sure whether Cassius was the *pistos* of two really distinct villages or whether Rodon was merely an insignificant appendage of Rimea. Another inscription from Deir-el-Leben mentions the same men, although the title *pistos* does not appear. The date of this inscription is A.D. 320 and in it we are told that a hall or court was built for the god and that Cassius and Paulus contributed generously of their own time. This leads one to the conclusion that these men were acting as private individuals, and not officially. The omission of the word *pistos* adds weight to this opinion.[111]

Pistoi are mentioned in six inscriptions from Bosana in Batanea.[112] In each case they are mentioned in connection with some public work or building. In four of these inscriptions two *pistoi* are associated with a *syndic* in the work. Whether or not the *syndic* was one of the *pistoi* is not stated, but it is unlikely, if we may judge by the wording. The quotation of one of these inscriptions will suffice to show the type of all four: ἐπὶ συνδικίας Ταυρίνου Ταυρίνου συνδίκο(υ) καὶ Ταηναήλου Σέου κὲ Θεσπεσίου Φιλίππου πιστῶν ἐκτίσθη ἡ καμάρα τοῦ δήμου.[113] Although the ruins of Bosana are quite extensive, it seems highly probable that this place was not a city but a village.[114]

From 'Auwas (modern name) in Auranitis comes an inscription which records the building of a temple. It reads thus: ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς Οὐάλεντος Ἀζίζου καὶ Σοβέου Ἀουίτου καὶ Μάγνου Ἀβγάρου καὶ Μάνου Θιέμου πιστῶν ἐκτίσθη τὸ Θεανδρίτιον, ἔτ(ει) σπθ'.[115] The date is A.D. 394, and there are four *pistoi.* Waddington be-

[109] Wad., 2394.
[110] *Ibid.*, 2395.
[111] *Ibid.*, 2393.
[112] P.A.E.S., 732; Wad., 2238, 2239, 2239 a, 2240, 2243.
[113] Wad., 2240.
[114] Eusebius leaves the point unsettled (*Onomasticon, s.v.* βώζ) for he writes: Βώζ. ἐν γῇ Κηδάρ. ἐν Ἱερεμίᾳ. But an inscription from this place ends with the words: ἡ κώμη εὐχαριστεῖ (Wad., 2237).
[115] Wad., 2046.

lieves that he has discovered the ancient name of the town in the phrase κώμες Βοσοηνῶν.[116] If his conclusion be correct, we see that Bosoa(?) was a village.

In an inscription from Il-Mu'Arribeh in Auranitis, if the reading be accepted, we learn that two *pistoi* and two *pronoetai* shared in the erection of a κοινὸς οἶκος in A.D. 336.[117] According to the interpretation of Prentice the *pistoi* were in all probability the commissioners who formed the chief executive board of the community, while the *pronoetai* constituted a special committee for the construction of the building.[118] Although there is no sure evidence that this place was a village, we have no indications that there was a city here.

Pistoi are also mentioned in three inscriptions from Mjedil (modern name) in Trachonitis. On this site stood a village, as we see in an inscription from this site containing the following words: ἐκ τοῦ κυνοῦ τῆς κώμης.[119] One of these inscriptions is so fragmentary that we do not even know the number of *pistoi*,[120] and in a second inscription all we learn is that there were five *pistoi*.[121] But from the third inscription we gain more information. It reads thus: ἐπὶ Μάλχου Κασσίου κὲ (Κ)υριακοῦ Οὐρανίου πιστῶν οἰκοδομή(θ)η ὁ οἶκος ἐκ τῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ. Σορεχος καὶ Καρουος Γαδος [ἔ]δωκαν τὸν τόπον.[122] There are two *pistoi* and they appear to have constructed a house from the funds of the village. It is interesting to notice that the site for the house was given by two men, who so far as we know gave it as private persons.

Three *pistoi* built two apses in a village on the site of the modern Damit il-Alya in Trachonitis, as we learn from the following inscription: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μιλιχο(ς) κὲ Σαγαδεος κὲ Εὐτρόπις πιστοὶ ἐτελίσσαν τὰς δύο ἀψῖδας.[123] We know from another inscription that a village stood on this site and that the ancient name of the place was Damatha.[124] Five *pistoi* are named in an inscription from Melah is-Sarrar in Batanea.[125] The names alone of the *pistoi* are preserved. An inscription from Burak in Auranitis also mentions

116 Wad., 2053 b; *cf.* 2041, note.
117 P.A.E.S., 611.
118 Prentice in A.P.A., XLIII (1912), 116 f.
119 P.A.E.S., 787.
120 *Ibid.*, 787[2].
121 *Ibid.*, 787[8].
122 *Ibid.*, 787[7].
123 *Ibid.*, 800[5].
124 *Ibid.*, 800[2], in which the words τὸ κοινὸν κώ[μ](ης) Δαμά(θ)ων occur.
125 *Ibid.*, 709.

pistoi, but their number cannot be determined.[126] An inscription from Ayoun also in Auranitis mentions a single *pistos.* However, the inscription is too fragmentary to help us in the determination of the character and function of the *pistos.*[127]

At Migdala (ancient name) in Auranitis three *pistoi* took part in the erection of what was probably a public hall. The inscription from which we learn this is dated A.D. 302, and reads as follows: ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς Γαδούου καὶ Σωπάτρου καὶ Ἀμμράθου πιστῶν ἐκτίσθη ὁ δημόσιος οἶκος ἔτ(ει) σνζ'.[128] It seems probable from the absence of any evidence to the contrary that a village occupied this site. From Tell-Ghariye in Auranitis comes the mention of two *pistoi* as village officials in the following inscription: εἷς θεὸς ὁ β(οη)θῶν τὴν κ(ώμην). ἐπὶ προνοίαν Ἀναμου κ(αὶ) Ἀβδισάρ(ου) πιστῶν ἐτε-(λώθη) ἐν ἔτει. . . .[129] In this case also the *pistoi* appear to have been connected with some building or public work. *Pistoi* appear again in an inscription from Nedjran in Trachonitis which reads thus: οἱ ἀπὸ φυλῆς Μανιηνῶν εὐτυχίσοντες ἔνδοξον οἰκοδομὴν ἐτελίωσαν προνύᾳ Ἀνδρονίκου Ἀγρίππου καὶ Κάρου Μοσαμάμου πιστῶν.[130] The tribe of the Manienoi have erected a handsome building by the προνοία of two *pistoi.* Another inscription from this site contains what may possibly have been the ancient name of the town in the words [κ]ώ(μης) Νορεράθης.[131] It is interesting to notice this mention of a tribe in a village inscription, and it causes us to wonder what the relation between village and tribe may have been, but our information on this subject is too limited to solve the problem.

Finally we find mention of *pistoi* in the following inscription from El-Mouschennef in Batanea: ἐκ προνοίας κα[ὶ] σπουδῆς Ταυρίνου συνδίκου [κ]αὶ Ἀνέρου καὶ Τα[ν]ήλου πιστῶν ἡ ἀψὶς ἐγένετο.[132] This inscription concerns the same men that were mentioned in an inscription of Bosana, a neighboring town, which has been referred to above.[133] It may be that one of the two stones is not *in situ* and that the officials mentioned were officials of one town only, or it may show that one of these towns was dependent upon the other and had the same officers.

We see from these inscriptions that there might be as many as

126 P.A.E.S., 174.
127 Wad., 1984.
128 *Ibid.,* 2029.
129 Dussaud and Macler, M.S.M., p. 272, no. 93.
130 Wad., 2427.
131 *Ibid.,* 2431.
132 *Ibid.,* 2219.
133 *Ibid.,* 2240.

seven *pistoi* in a village, and that their number varied. With them in some cases a *syndic* was associated. However, in most of the towns in which *pistoi* appear no other higher officials appear, and for this reason it is reasonable to conclude that in these towns the *pistoi* constituted the highest executive authority in the community.[134]

Pronoetai appear to have had functions very similar to those of the *pistoi*. A study of the inscriptions in which these officials appear will make this evident. The first of these inscriptions, which comes from Umm Iz-Zetun in Trachonitis, reads as follows: Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. τὸ κοινὸν τῆς κώμης καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἱερὰν καλυβὴν ἔκτεισεν διὰ Οὐλπίου Κασσιανοῦ οὐιτρανικοῦ, καὶ Γαδουου Σαουρου βουλευτοῦ, καὶ Νιγρείνου Μαρρίνου οὐιτρανικοῦ προνοητῶν.[135] This inscription is dated A.D. 282. The *koinon* of the village and of the god has erected a sacred καλυβή. The καλυβή is peculiar to this section of the country.[136] This building was erected by three *pronoetai*, and their relation to the building enterprise is expressed by the word διά. This inscription makes it seem not unlikely that this was a sacred village. An inscription from Er-Rouchaide in Auranitis also mentions three *pronoetai*, who have in this case erected a house. The inscription reads thus: ἐκ προν(οί)ας Φεσάνου Ἀμέρου κ(αὶ) Ἴδδου Ναγόσου κ(αὶ) Δίλλου Ὀβέδου προνοητῶν ἀνεώθη ἔτους σμά ὁ οἶκος. Εὐτυχίτω ἡ κώμη.[137]

There are three inscriptions from Orman in Auranitis in which *pronoetai* appear. Two of these inscriptions were originally at 'Auwas (modern name), a place which seems never to have been a city, whether or not Waddington is right in his belief that the old name of the town is indicated by the phrase κώμες Βοσοηνῶν.[138] The first of the inscriptions at Orman reads as follows: ἐπὶ Μά[ρκ]ου Πρίσκου καὶ Βοσελου Σαβίνου καὶ Γαλεσου Μάλχου προνοητῶν ἐγένετο ὁ τῖχος καὶ ἡ ἀψῖδες ἔτ(ει) σιθ' Σόμενος οἰκοδ[όμος.[139] The date is A.D. 324, and we see that three *pronoetai* were connected with the building of a wall and apses. The second inscription mentions four *pronoetai* and they are concerned with the erection of a

134 Prentice in A.P.A., XLIII (1912), 118.

135 I.G.R.R., III, 1187.

136 P.A.E.S., II A, part V, p. 361. Butler writes: "A καλυβή is a simple building peculiar to the Hauran. The façade consists of a broad arch flanked by two arched niches of rectangular plan, and is almost twice as wide as the square building behind it which was roofed by a dome."

137 Dussaud and Macler, M.S.M., p. 265, no. 74.

138 Wad., 2053 b, *cf.* 2041, note. See also Dussaud and Macler, *Voyage au Safa*, p. 167, no. 34 (Paris, 1901).

139 P.A.E.S., 685.

basilica and a door. The date of this inscription is A.D. 330. The phrase which describes the activity of the *pronoetai* is ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς.[140] The third inscription also mentions four *pronoetai*. It reads thus: ἐπίνοια τρικλίνου καὶ τοῦ ἔνδον βουστασί[ο]υ προνοητῶν Να(σ)ερου Ονε[νο]υ καὶ Αζιζου Μοεαρου καὶ Μ(ά)νου [Θι]έμ(ου) καὶ Σιλουανοῦ Οτεμου, ε. . . . ΝCVTA. . . . . καὶ ἀναλύσεως καὶ διορ(θ)ώσεως πύργων δύο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἔτει σξζ'.[141] It seems that an inn and a stable are referred to in the words τρίκλινος and βουστάσιον. It is also noteworthy that this town had two towers. The date of the inscription is A.D. 372. The mention of so many elaborate buildings as being erected by the *pronoetai* of this town leads one to the conclusion that the village from which they came must have been of considerable size and importance.

Pronoetai appear also in an inscription found at 'Auwas itself and not transferred to Orman. The date of this inscription is A.D. 310. It reads thus: ἔτ(ους) σέ, ἐπὶ Νασέρου 'Οτεμίου καὶ 'Αλασάθου Γαλέσου, 'Οτεμίου Αὔσου, Μάνου Οὐαλέντου προνο(η)τῶν.[142] From the wording it is not clear whether there were two or four *pronoetai*. An inscription from Ayoun in Auranitis mentions two *pronoetai* and we are told that they built something, but we are not told what the building was.[143] The last inscription in which *pronoetai* appear was found at Aqraba, also in Auranitis. It reads as follows: Θεῷ Ἡρακλεῖ διὰ ἐπιμελητοῦ Ζηνοδώρου Κλυμένου καὶ Μάθου Ναέμου προνοη(τῶν).[144] A building was evidently erected in honor of Heracles. There were two *pronoetai* and one of them was also an *epimeletes*.

These inscriptions show that the duties of the *pronoetai* were very similar to those of the *pistoi*. Their number varies from two to four. Both *pronoetai* and *pistoi* appear most frequently in inscriptions of the fourth century of our era. Prentice, by a study of the inscriptions from 'Auwas in Auranitis, has concluded that between A.D. 330 and 394 it became the custom at Bosoa (?) for *pistoi* instead of *pronoetai* to have charge of public works.[145] In A.D. 310 *pronoetai* conducted a public work of some sort and in 324 *pronoetai* had charge of the building of a wall and apses. Again in A.D. 330 a basilica and a door were consecrated by four *pronoetai*, but in the year 394 in the same town the Θεανδρίτιον was

140 P.A.E.S., 701.

141 *Ibid.*, 696.

142 Wad., 2042. *Cf.* I.G.R.R., III, 1313, where in an inscription of A.D. 294 or 295 another list is given, probably of *pronoetai*.

143 Wad., 1984 d.

144 *Ibid.*, 2413 c.

145 Prentice in A.P.A., XLIII (1912), 116.

built by four *pistoi*. Either *pronoetes* and *pistos* were interchangeable titles or else the title of *pistos* was introduced at Bosoa (?) after A.D. 330. Whereas the *pistoi* appear almost always to have had the πρόνοια, the *pronoetai* did not have it so regularly. It may be that their title implies it without further explanation, but in one case the relation of three *pronoetai* to the erection of a καλυβή was explained by the word διά, which Prentice regards as the equivalent of σπουδῇ rather than προνοίᾳ. But the inscriptions do not warrant so great a distinction between these officials as Prentice makes.

Officials with the title of *dioiketes* appear in six inscriptions of Syria. One of these inscriptions merely gives us a list of the *dioiketai* of a certain community. These *dioiketai* are thirteen in number and their action, whatever it may be, is characterized by the word πρόνοια.[146] This inscription was found at Umm Iz-Zetun, which was, as we have seen, a village of considerable size and importance. Two inscriptions from Harran, also in Trachonitis, mention building undertaken by *dioiketai*, the first of which reads as follows: ἀντὶ πολλῆς εὐχαριστίας κὲ μνήμης, προνοίᾳ Μαξίμου Ὀγέζου καὶ Μαλιχάθου κὲ Ἀμέρου κὲ Πρίσκου διοικητῶν, ἐτελέσθη τὸ δη[μ]όσιον πανδοχῖον, ἔτους σμβ' τῆς Βοστρηνῶν ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)ί.[147] There are four *dioiketai*, and the date is A.D. 396 or 397. The second of these inscriptions is dated one year later, and concerns the building of the same inn. The *dioiketai*, however, have changed, which makes it seem probable that *dioiketai* were in office for a year only. The inscription reads as follows: ἀντὶ ε[ὐχ]αριστίας κὲ μνήμ<νημ>ης προν(οίᾳ) [Γ]ορεπου Αυμου κὲ Οδαραν(ου) Βά[σο]υ καὶ Αμερου Ουαβηλου καὶ Αὐ[α]μου Μαρκιανοῦ διοικητῶν ἐ[τ]ελέσθη τὸ κοινὸν πανδοχῖο[ν] ἰ(ν)δ(ικτιῶνος) ιά, ἔτους σμβ' τῆς ἐπαρχίου.[148] There is no evidence that a city stood upon this site in ancient times, and these inscriptions in all probability concern a village community.

In the following inscription from Djeneine in Batanea we see that *dioiketai* were elected by the people of the village:

> τοῦτο αροιμον(?) ἔθηκεν το σ . . . . . κώμης ἁπάσης
> ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς τιμιωτάτων διοικητῶν
> Ὀλυμπίου Σαβινιανοῦ Ἀγρίππου τε Σωπάτρου,
> Δωσιθέου Εὐνόμου καὶ Δωσιθέου Σαμέθου υἱοῦ·
> τούτους πάνυ σπουδαίους κώμης ἐπελέξατο δῆμος.[149]

[146] Wad., 2547. This inscription may be dated as of A.D. 331 because one of the *dioiketai* is mentioned in another inscription of that year (*Ibid.*, 2546 a).

[147] *Ibid.*, 2462.

[148] P.A.E.S., 794[1].

[149] Wad., 2188.

There are four *dioiketai* in this village. The next inscription in which *dioiketai* are mentioned is from Namara in Batanea. The number of *dioiketai* is uncertain, but they have been instrumental in the construction of a gate. The inscription reads thus: *ἐκ προνοίας τῶν διοικητῶν τῶν Ἑκάτων, διὰ Ἀστάθου κὲ Σαοάρου κὲ Κασάνου κὲ Τιμοθέου ἐκτίσ[θ]η ἡ π[ύ]λη.*[150] According to Jerome Namara was a village: "est usque ad praesens vicus grandis Namara in regione Batanea."[151] At Sur in Trachonitis was found the last inscription in which *dioiketai* appear, and it reads as follows:

Ἀ]γαθῇ Τύχῃ.
ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ οἴκου ἐπετε-
λέσθη διὰ Γορα Σαμανου συνδίκου
καὶ Ἴσου Αννηλου καὶ Πρίσκου Φι-
λοκάλου καὶ Ζορεου Μάγνου
διοικητῶν τῆς μητροκωμίας,
ἔτους διακοσσιαστοῦ εἰκοστοῦ
πρώτου τῆς ἐπαρχείας.[152]

The date is A.D. 326, and there appear to have been four *dioiketai,* one of whom was also a *syndic.* It is possible, on the other hand, that the *syndic* was not a *dioiketes,* and that there were only three *dioiketai.* This town was a *metrokomia.*

This survey of the inscriptions in which *dioiketai* appear shows that their function was similar to that of the *pistoi* and *pronoetai,* but that their number varied more, and in one instance rose to thirteen. It is also interesting to notice that in one case they were elected by the people of the village, which may mean that this was the manner in which all village officials were chosen.

In the inscriptions of Syria we frequently find officials styled *epimeletai.* Two of these officials are mentioned in an inscription from Hareira in the Antilibanon. Through their agency something has been done from the funds of the god and of the village.[153] An inscription from Agraena (ancient name) in Trachonitis tells us that the *koinon* of the village did something through two men. The word used to describe the activity of these men is *ἐπιμελίᾳ,* which suggests that they may have been *epimeletai,*[154] and the probability of this conjecture is strengthened by the fact

150 Wad., 2184.
151 Jerome, *Onomasticon, s.v. Nemra.*
152 P.A.E.S., 797[2].
153 Wad., 2556.
154 P.A.E.S., 793[2].

that in another inscription from this site four *epimeletai* are named,[155] although we do not know what they did. It is clear that the *epimeletai* were not the highest officials in their village, for another inscription from this same site mentions a *protokometes*.[156]

From Bosana in Batanea comes an inscription containing the phrase ἐξ ἐπιμελίας καὶ σπουδ[ῆς]. This probably means that the men who are named were *epimeletai*. The inscription reads thus: ἐξ ἐπιμελίας καὶ σπουδ[ῆς] Μογεαιρου Μάρκου κα[ὶ Α]ττου Ναζα(λ)ου ἐκτίσθ[η] τὰ ἐργαστήρια ἐν ἔτι σπ[ά.[157] Two *epimeletai* supervised the construction of workshops in the year 386.

An inscription of Sala in Batanea tells of the opening of a church through the agency of two *epimeletai*. This inscription is dated between the years 566 and 574. There is no indication as to whether this town was a city or a village. It is interesting to note that the *epimeletai* were subjected to the indignity of swearing that they had not misappropriated any of the funds at their disposal.[158] *Epimeletai* are also mentioned at Eitha (ancient name) in Trachonitis. We have already seen that this town had a *strategos*.[159] In the following inscription from this site two *epimeletai* appear: Αἴλιος Μάξιμος ἔπαρχος τῇ πατρίδι ἔκτισεν διὰ Ἡρώδου Ἡρώδου ἰδίου καὶ διὰ Φιλίππου Μάλχου καὶ Ἄδδου Ἀκραβάνου ἐπιμελητῶν.[160] A private citizen has aided the two *epimeletai* in their undertaking. In a second inscription from this site one *epimeletes* appears, who out of his private means has contributed to the making of a door.[161]

Mouterde has published an inscription from Hammarah in the Antilibanon. His reading is:

> Ἀγαθῇ τύ[χ]ῃ· [τὸν ναὸν θε]οῦ Διὸς—α[ὖ]ξι τύχη Αἰν[γαρ(ρίας)?]-
> ἐπὶ Ἀβιμμέο[υς Ἀπολ]λιναρίου ἀρχιερέως, ἓ[ξ]
> Αὐρήλιοι, Βαρεάλας Φιλίππου καὶ Ὄκβεος Ὀκβέου
> καὶ Βήρυλλος Ἀβιμμέους καὶ Ἀειάνης Γερμά[νου]
> καὶ Μακεδόνις Ἀβιμμέους καὶ Βεελίαβος δ', or δ[ί'ς],
> ἐπιμεληταί, ἀπὸ κώμης Αἰν[γ]α[ρρ]ίας? ἐκτίσαντο.[162]

155 P.A.E.S., 793[6].
156 *Ibid.*, 793[9].
157 *Ibid.*, 734.
158 Wad., 2261.
159 I.G.R.R., III, 1137.
160 *Ibid.*, 1138.
161 Wad., 2117.
162 P. R. Mouterde, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph Beyrouth*, Tome VIII, fasc. 3, p. 108 (Beyrouth, 1926).

If this reading be correct, and Mouterde ably defends it, this village had six *epimeletai.* Mouterde dates this inscription shortly after A.D. 212. He raises the question as to whether the *epimeletai* were officials of a purely religious character or whether they also had civic duties. His conclusion that they represented both the village and the god seems reasonable.

Epimeletai appear in several inscriptions from Syrian cities. One of these inscriptions concerns Palmyra, and in it an *epimeletes* is described as being in charge of the water coming from a certain spring.[163] The official in charge of the water supply, or an important part of it, of a city such as Palmyra would be very important, as his responsibility was great. This inscription is cited merely to give some idea of the importance of the duties of the *epimeletes* in this case and similar cases. It also shows that *epimeletai* were not always associated with building enterprises, and that their work may often have had a more permanent character.[164]

Another official who is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of Syria is the *episkopos.* We are not here concerned with him in his religious capacity, but as a municipal official. Liebenam is of the opinion that *episkopoi* were regular officers in charge of building,[165] but Magie and Stuart believe that at least in certain cases the *episkopoi* formed temporary committees for the construction of certain buildings, and that they did not constitute a regular board of overseers.[166]

From Kanata in Auranitis come two inscriptions which refer to men who were probably *episkopoi.* The first of these reads thus: ἐπισκοποῦντος Μονίμου Φλαουίου βουλευτοῦ.[167] This man was certainly a councillor, and perhaps an *episkopos* also. The other inscription mentions three men who appear to have been *episkopoi.* The inscription reads as follows: Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. ὑπὲ[ρ σ]ωτηρίας τῶν κυρίων, ἐπισκοπούντων Ἀνέμου Σαβίνου καὶ Βαυλάνης Ὀδενίθου καὶ Πασίφιλος Καμασάνου, ἐκτίσθη ὁ οἶκος ἐκ φιλοτιμίας τῆς κώμης ἐξ ὧν ἔδωκεν Ἰουλιανὸς Διονυ(σίου) ✳ φ' . . . ἔτους ρμή.[168] The *episkopoi* built a house as the result of the generosity of the village, some of whose inhabitants contributed from their private purses, in the year 253. Wad-

[163] Wad., 2571 c.

[164] For further evidence as to the character of the *epimeletai* in cities see Wad., 2070 c and 2077. *Cf.* also Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche,* p. 385, n. 1 (Leipzig, 1900).

[165] Liebenam, *op. cit.,* p. 384, n. 2.

[166] P.A.E.S., 37, note.

[167] Wad., 2412 e.

[168] *Ibid.,* 2412 f, or I.G.R.R., III, 1284.

dington is of the opinion that Kanata was a city and not a village. In support of this contention he cites the fact that in an inscription from El-Afine in Batanea is recorded the building by a certain man named Cornelius Palma of a conduit to lead water to Kanata.[169] Such a conduit, he thinks, would not be built in the interests of a mere village. Moreover, Waddington believes that certain coins which have been attributed to Kanatha properly belong to Kanata,[170] and lastly, in his opinion, the mention of a councillor in an inscription from this site gives a presumption in favor of the belief that a city, not a village, stood here. Waddington's first argument is quite strong, but there seems to be no justification for his opinion that coins attributed to Kanatha really belonged to Kanata. The third argument, to the effect that Kanata must have been a city because it had a council, I shall attempt later to invalidate. The appearance of the word *kome* in the second inscription quoted from this site argues that *episkopoi* were village officials, for had they been officials of a unit other than the village where the stone was cut, the name of that other community would in all probability have been given.

The title *episkopos* occurs in its civic aspect in two inscriptions from Salkhad in Auranitis. This town was one of considerable importance in antiquity. One of these inscriptions seems to record the erection of a building under the superintendence of four *episkopoi*. It reads as follows: Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. Θαῖμος Ναέμου, Σάβαος Σίχμου, Βάσσος Οὐλπίου, Βόρδος Σαι[ρή]λου ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἔκτισαν, ἔτους ρμζ'.[171] The date of this inscription is A.D. 252. In a note on this inscription Waddington gives the definition of Charisius of the functions of *episkopoi:* "Episcopi, qui praesunt pani et caeteris venalibus rebus, quae civitatum populis ad quotidianum victum usui sunt."[172] The *episkopoi,* then, were analogous to *agoranomoi* in Greece and in other parts of the Hellenic world. There is only one instance of an *agoranomos* in Auranitis (at Kanatha).[173] Where there were no *agoranomoi* some other officials must have fulfilled their tasks, and it is quite possible that this was one of the principal functions of the *episkopoi,* namely, to supervise local markets. But the frequency with which *episkopoi* appear in connection with some building enterprise makes it seem that they

169 Wad., 2296.

170 *Ibid.,* 2412 d.

171 *Ibid.,* 1990. The other inscription concerning *episkopoi* from this site is *ibid.,* 1989. See also note to *ibid.,* 1990.

172 *Digest,* L, 4, 18, 7.

173 Wad., 2330.

were not so engrossed in duties connected with markets, as the definition of Charisius would lead us to expect.

Episkopoi appear in two inscriptions from the southern part of Auranitis. The first of these inscriptions was found at Kara'ah, and *episkopoi* appear as overseers of the temple enclosure: . . . τοὺς τοῦ τεμ]ένους ἐπισκόπους . . . Ζεδος(καὶ) Βανιος.[174] The other inscription comes from Umm Liwan and from it we learn that something was done by provision of the village, and that several men were acting as *episkopoi:*

. . . . . ἐπισκοπίᾳ (Σ)ου . . . . .
μου κὲ (Μ)ανος . . . . . προνόῃ
τᾶς κόμε(ς) Κ . . . . .[175]

An inscription from Il-Umta-Iyeh in Auranitis of the year 330 or 331 tells of a building erected from the funds of the Lord by *episkopoi:* ἐκτίσθη . . . . ἐ]κ τῶν τοῦ Κυ[ρίου ἐπιμελουμέν]ων τῶν ἐπισκό-π[ων . . . . .]ρου Βαχρου καὶ . . . . . ἔτους σκέ.[176] But this shows the *episkopos* perhaps as a religious official rather than a purely municipal officer. This also is true in the case of an inscription found in a village near the foot of Mount Hermon, whose ancient name may have been Segeira. This inscription is dated between the years 103 and 116 of our era. The *episkopos* in this case is concerned with honoring the goddess Leucothea.[177] But the religious cult of an ancient community played so important a part in the life of that community that there can have existed no sharp line of division between an official of the cult and an officer charged with ordinary municipal matters.

It is probable that Syrian villages sometimes had officials known as *oikonomoi.* An inscription from Namara in Batanea tells of the building of a dovecote under the direction of two men who were probably *oikonomoi:* ἐπὶ τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ Πρίσκου καὶ Ἀνατολίου τῶν Αμταρης ἐκτίσθη ὁ περιστηρεών.[178] Namara, as has been said above, was a village, and the *oikonomoi* appear to have been local officials. *Oikonomoi* appear, or at least their presence is implied, in three inscriptions from Sha'Areh in Trachonitis. The first of these inscriptions reads thus: οἱ ἀπὸ πρώτου τεμένους· οἰκονομίας Σεκούνδου καὶ Αὐρηλίου Φίρμου.[179] In the next inscription three *oikono-*

[174] P.A.E.S., 220.
[175] *Ibid.*, 222.
[176] *Ibid.*, 37.
[177] O.G.I.S., 611.
[178] P.A.E.S., 758.
[179] *Ibid.*, 8031.

moi figure: [οἰ . . .] . . . μ̣ω(ν) τ̣εμ̣[έν]ους οἰκονόμ(οι), Αὐρ(ήλιος) Νασρος Ἀλ[ασ]αθου Οσαι(δ)ε[λ]ος Φα(σε)λου [Μ]οκειμος Θαιμ[ο]υ ἀνέθη̣κ̣α̣[ν.[180] The *oikonomoi* appear to have consecrated an enclosure to some deity. The third inscription is like the first in that *oikonomoi* are not expressly mentioned, although the use of the word οἰκονομίας makes it seem likely that the three men whose names follow were *oikonomoi*. The inscription reads as follows: οἰκο̣νομίας Ζομισου καὶ Ῥούφου κ̣[α]ὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ.[181] We have seen that this community had a board of *strategoi*.[182] As the *strategoi* were presumably the chief magistrates of the community, it is highly improbable that *oikonomoi* should be the eponymous magistrates, as has been suggested.[183] It is incorrect, therefore, to regard the phrase οἰκονομίας τοῦ δεῖνος as giving a date to an inscription. The phrase should not be translated "in the administration of," but "under the direction of." The difference is great, for the first translation is intended to indicate that the officers were eponymous, whereas the second is not. It is difficult to decide whether the *oikonomoi* mentioned in these inscriptions are really municipal officials. Justinian writes of *oikonomoi* as follows: "Oeconomos autem et xenodochos et nosocomos et ptochotrophos et aliorum venerabilium locorum gubernatores et alios omnes clericos iubemus pro creditis sibi gubernationibus apud proprium episcopum cui subiacent conveniri et rationem suae gubernationis facere, *et cetera.*"[184] The *oikonomoi* whom Justinian describes are religious officials, but that does not prove that all *oikonomoi* were of that character. In the absence of more evidence it is impossible to decide whether the *oikonomos* in Syria was always a religious official or whether sometimes he may have been an officer charged with secular duties.

The title *ekdikos* occurs in several inscriptions of Syria. From Hebran in Batanea comes an inscription in which three men are described as *ekdikoi*. It reads thus: ὁ ναὸς ἐκ τῶν ἱερατικῶν ἐκτίσθη ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος, προνοησαμένων Ἀριστείδου Θαίμου, Ὀαιθέλου Ἐμμέγνου, Ἐμμεγάνη Χαμένου ἐγδ(ι΄)κον, etc.[185] The date of this inscription is A.D. 155, and the *ekdikoi* are connected with the building of a shrine or temple.

An *ekdikos* is mentioned in the following inscription from Il-

[180] P.A.E.S., 803[2].
[181] *Ibid.*, 803[4].
[182] *Ibid.*, 803.
[183] *Ibid.*, 803[1], note.
[184] Justinian, *Novella*, 123, 23.
[185] P.A.E.S., 659.

Umta-Iyeh in Auranitis: Γερμανὸς ἔκδικος.[186] Another mention of an *ekdikos* occurs at Tafha in Batanea: δι]ὰ Ἴλμου Συμάχου Γαμήλου Ζαβαδάνου καὶ Θανούμου Τανήλου Μαξίμου Κασσίου καὶ Σαβίνου ἐκδίκου ἐκτίσθη ὁ οἶκος.[187] As only one of the men described as having helped in the construction of the house was an *ekdikos*, we cannot be sure that his character of *ekdikos* had any connection with his help in the erection of the building. The word *kome* occurs in an inscription from this site, and there is no evidence in support of the belief that this town was more than a village.[188] An *ekdikos* also appears in an inscription from the city of Mothana in Auranitis, and again he is mentioned in connection with building: . . . προνοίας Λιχνος? βουλ(ευτοῦ) ἐγδίκου καὶ Ῥουαίου καὶ Ἀέδου καὶ Αὔσου πιστῶν τὸ χῶμα ἐκαθαρίσθη καὶ ἡ πλάτιος ἱερατικὴ οἰκοδομήθη καὶ ἐκτίσθη ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ πόλις.[189] It is instructive to notice that the *ekdikos* appears to have the same concern in building operations in a Syrian city as he does in the villages of Syria.

So far we have seen the *ekdikos* associated with building. His functions in Syria appear to have been quite different from the functions of the *ekdikos* in the cities of Asia Minor. We have both inscriptional and literary evidence on this point. There is, however, one inscription of Syria which may at least suggest that the Syrian *ekdikos* was not always so distinct from the more usual type. This inscription comes from Phaena in Trachonitis, and indicates that it was possible for a *metrokomia* to complain to the governor in case of ill treatment at the hands of soldiers or civilians. The word *ekdikos* does not appear, but the use of the verb ἐκδικηθήσεσθαι at least suggests the possibility that the man who conveyed the complaint might be styled *ekdikos*. The inscription reads thus: Ἰούλιος Σατουρνῖνος Φαινησίοις μητροκωμίᾳ τοῦ Τράχωνος χαίρειν. ἐάν τις ὑμῖν ἐπιδημήσῃ βιαίως στρατιώτης ἢ καὶ ἰδιώτης, ἐπιστείλαντές μοι ἐκδικηθήσεσθαι, etc.[190]

In the cities of the East we often encounter officials known as *ekdikoi* and *syndikoi*.[191] The function of the *ekdikos* and that of the *syndikos* were very similar, but they were not identical. The fact that the two offices sometimes differed is illustrated in an inscription from the city of Prusias in Bithynia, in which the various offices which a certain man had held are enumerated as

[186] P.A.E.S., 44.
[187] Wad., 2169.
[188] *Ibid.*, 2165.
[189] *Ibid.*, 2034.
[190] I.G.R.R., III, 1119.
[191] Liebenam, *op. cit.*, pp. 303 f.

follows: *κοινόβουλον διὰ βίου, τιμητεύσαντα, ἀγορανομήσαντα, ἐκδικήσαντα, γραμματεύσαντα, συνδικήσαντα, πολλάκις*, etc.[192]

Brandis has divided *ekdikoi* into two categories.[193] One type is that of specially appointed emissaries from a city to the central government to settle particular matters of litigation, and the other is that of regular standing officials who acted as intermediaries between the city and the higher authorities in disputed questions. In support of this classification he cites a passage from Cicero and two inscriptions, one from Lydia, the other from Pisidia.[194] But a study of the evidence which Brandis cites in support of his opinion makes it seem probable that *ekdikoi* were always officials of a permanent character, and never specially selected for a particular mission.[195]

This brief survey of the character of the *ekdikos* in the cities of Asia Minor shows that his character here was quite different from what we have seen it to be in the inscriptions of Syria. It may be that the *ekdikos* has no real and essential connection with building in Syria, but the evidence points the other way. It is possible that the name was borrowed for some reason from Asia Minor, but that the duties of the Syrian *ekdikos* had no resemblance to the duties of the *ekdikos* of the cities of Asia Minor. The inscription from Phaena, already quoted, is the only one in which any possible similarity between the position of the *ekdikos* in Syria and in Asia Minor is suggested.

Officials with the title of *syndikos* appear frequently in the inscriptions of Syria. Seven inscriptions from Bosana in Batanea mention such an official. This place was probably a village, as has been said above, and in four of the inscriptions we see that two *pistoi* are associated with a *syndikos* (see above in connection with the *pistoi*). In another case the *syndikos* appears also to have been at the same time a *pistos,* and to be one of two *pistoi* who laid the foundations for a well: *ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς Παυλείνου συνδίκου καὶ [Λ]ουκ[ιλιαν]οῦ πιστῶν, τῶν . . . . . εταξυτωνῆ . . . . . ἡ πηγὴ ἐθεμελιώθη καὶ ἀνενεώθη ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, ἔτους σξ̄ τῆς ἐπαρχ[είας.*[196] In the cases in which the *syndikos* is not also at the same time one

192 Wad., 1176.

193 Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. ecdicos.*

194 Cicero, *Ad Familiares,* XIII, 56; *Ath. Mitt.,* XXIV, 224, no. 55; Wad., 1212.

195 For further proof of the permanent character of the office we have the following inscription from Nicaea in Bithynia: *[γ]ραμματεύοντος Αὐρ. Συμφόρου [ἐ]κ[δ]ικοῦν[τ]ος διὰ βίου Αὐρ. Στεφάνου.* (C.I.G., 3749.)

196 Wad., 2239.

of the *pistoi,* it appears likely from the wording of the inscriptions that the initiative in the matter of building may have rested with him, whereas the *pistoi* were responsible for the actual construction of the building. However, such a distinction may not have existed. Perhaps the mention of the *syndikos* merely indicates that he was one of the highest officials in his community, and as such interested in all the activities of his village.

From El-Mouschennef, not far from Bosana, come two inscriptions in which *syndikoi* appear. One of these inscriptions has already been quoted in connection with *pistoi,*[197] and it is another instance of a *syndikos* being associated with two *pistoi* in the erection of a building. It is significant that the name of the *syndikos* is the same in this case as it is in one of the inscriptions at Bosana. This may mean that one of the towns was dependent upon the other, as has been suggested above, or it may point to the conclusion that these two towns were both under the same supervision from above, and that the *syndikos* was not an official of the community in which the inscription was found, but rather the officer of a higher unit upon which these two communities both depended. In that case there would be no evidence that the *syndikos* was a village official at all. The other inscription from El-Mouschennef in which a *syndikos* figures reads thus: *ἐπὶ συνδίκου Σέου Διογένους συνδίκο[υ] φυ(λῆς) Ἀουδρενῶν οἰκοδομήθη ἡ καμά[ρ]α.*[198] In this case the *syndikos* appears as a tribal officer and again is associated with a building enterprise. It seems probable that the site was occupied by a city in the time of these inscriptions. One of the inscriptions from this site contains the word *Νηλκωμίας,*[199] and Hierocles mentions *Νιλακώμη,* which may well be a corruption or an alternative form of *Νηλκωμία,* among the cities of Arabia between Bostra and Adraa.[200] But its name indicates that it was a village in origin.

An inscription from Namara in Batanea also mentions a *syndikos.* It reads thus: *προνοίᾳ Πρόκλου καὶ Παννονίου ἀδελφοῦ συνδίκου, ὑῶν Κρησκεντείνου, ἐκτίσθη τὰ τείχη εὐτυχῶς.*[201] Namara was a village, and it is interesting to see that it had walls.

We have seen already that the *metrokomia* of Sur in Trachonitis had an official known as a *syndikos,*[202] and a *syndikos* also

[197] Wad., 2219.
[198] *Ibid.,* 2220.
[199] *Ibid.,* 2217.
[200] Hierocles, *Synecdemus,* 722.
[201] Wad., 2173.
[202] P.A.E.S., 797[2].

appears at Philippopolis, the *syndikos* likewise being a councillor and *epimeletes*.[203] But we gain no new information about the position of the *syndikos* from the inscriptions of these towns. We have also a fragmentary inscription from El-Mouschennef in which a *syndikos* of nomads appears: *Θεοδώρου, συνδίκου νομάδων*.[204] I think that Prentice is wrong in regarding this as the title of an Arab sheikh. The name Theodorus is Greek, and this man may have been the representative of the tribe in its dealings with the central government or else he may have been the agent of the central government itself. However, in all the inscriptions which are more than mere fragments the *syndikos* seems to be associated with building.

But an inscription from Palmyra sheds further light upon the *syndikos*. This inscription mentions several *syndikoi*: *ἐ[πι]μελεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς τυγχάνοντας κατὰ καιρὸν ἄρχοντας καὶ δεκαπρώτους καὶ συνδίκ[ους τοῦ] μηδὲν παραπράσσειν τὸν μισθούμενον*.[205] This inscription is a decree of the senate of Palmyra regulating financial matters, and it shows clearly that *syndikoi* were regular officials. Moreover their jurisdiction is of the kind we should expect, to judge from the notices in the *Digest* in which *syndikoi* figure. This is the only case in which several *syndikoi* are mentioned in an inscription of Syria. In this instance the *syndikoi* appear to have been of the character that was usual in the cities of Asia Minor.

In Asia Minor the *syndikos* appears to have been an official whose function was essentially the same as that of the *ekdikos*. His duty was to act as intermediary between his city and the higher authority. An inscription from Caryanda in Caria shows that in this city a *syndikos* was elected, and that the office was regarded as a liturgy: *αἱρεθεὶς δὲ καὶ σύ[νδικος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ λει]τουργίᾳ ἐκτενῆ καὶ φιλότιμον ἑαυτὸν παρέσχετο*.[206] The restoration of this inscription is confirmed by a passage from Charisius: "Defensores quoque, quos Graeci syndicos appellant, et qui ad certam causam agendam vel defendendam eliguntur, laborem personalis muneris adgrediuntur."[207] We have seen already that the office of *syndikos* could be held more than once.[208] But another passage in the *Digest* implies that a *syndikos* had a more permanent character: "Quibus autem permissum est corpus habere collegii societatis sive cui-

203 Wad., 2077.
204 A.A.E.S., part III, no. 383.
205 I.G.R.R., III, 1056, lines 12 ff.
206 Wad., 499, lines 2 ff.
207 *Digest*, L, 4, 18, 13.
208 Wad., 1176.

usque alterius eorum nomine, proprium est ad exemplum rei publicae habere res communes, arcam communem et actorem sive syndicum, per quem tamquam in re publica, quod communiter agi fierique oporteat, agatur fiat."[209] This passage shows clearly that the *syndikos* was chosen not merely to settle particular disputes, but that he was a regular official ready to act in any case, should it arise.

The relation between the *syndikos* of the cities of Asia Minor and the *syndikos* of the villages of Syria seems to be just as unsubstantial as the relation between the *ekdikoi.* It would be quite unreasonable to suppose that a mere village would have a permanent official whose sole duty was to represent his village in its dealings with the central authorities. If that were the case, his position would be a sinecure.

The last official to be considered in this chapter is the *pragmateutes.* Such an official is mentioned only once in a Syrian inscription, and this inscription has already been cited in connection with the *komarchos.*[210] The *pragmateutes* in other parts of the Roman empire was an imperial official in charge of an imperial estate. As the inscription mentioned is our only evidence for the existence of such an officer in Syria, it would be unsafe to draw any definite conclusion as to his functions, except that he is not likely to have been a village official but rather the representative of the central government in the administration of a village.

In the preceding pages the various officials who appear in inscriptions concerning Syrian villages have been discussed. The following officials have been considered: *komarchoi, protokometai, strategoi, komogrammateis, pistoi, pronoetai, dioiketai, epimeletai, episkopoi, oikonomoi, ekdikoi, syndikoi,* and *pragmateutai.* The references to the officials in this list are very scattered, and we never find many of them mentioned in the inscriptions from any one village. The fact that these inscriptions are for the most part found on stones which formed parts of ancient buildings gives us a one-sided view of the duties of these officials, for the inscriptions usually record the erection of these same buildings, and the names of the local officials who had to do with their construction are included in the inscriptions. But we must not be misled by the unbalanced character of our evidence about the duties of these officers.

[209] *Digest,* III, 4, 1, 1.
[210] P.A.E.S., 881.

Any attempt to localize the Syrian village officials is unsafe, from the character of our evidence. Most of the inscriptions in which any of these officials are mentioned are found in Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanea. As we have far more inscriptions from these districts than from other parts of Syria, it is not at all surprising that our information is more complete about these districts, but we must not infer the nonexistence of certain officials in other parts of Syria merely because we have no mention of them. We do, however, find occasional references to village officials in parts of Syria other than Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanea. The *komarchos,* for example, appears in an inscription from Il-Mishrifeh in northern Syria, and an *epimeletes* appears in an inscription from Hareira in the Antilibanon. Then there are several general references to officials who existed in Syria, such as the reference to *komarchoi* made by Libanius in his oration on the evils of military patronage. Another reference of this character is made to *protokometai* by Leontius Neapolitanus and by Palladius.

Despite the scattered nature of our evidence we find references to more than one type of official in some of the villages of Syria. At Il-Umta-Iyeh in Auranitis mention is made of a *protokometes,* an *ekdikos,* and *episkopoi.* Sha'Areh in Trachonitis had both *strategoi* and *oikonomoi.* Eitha in Trachonitis had *strategoi* and *epimeletai.* Bosana in Batanea boasted of *pistoi* and a *syndikos.* In four inscriptions from this place two *pistoi* appear to have been associated with a *syndikos* in some building enterprise. Both *pistoi* and *pronoetai* are mentioned in an inscription from Il-Mu' Arribeh in Auranitis. Umm Iz-Zetun in Trachonitis had *pronoetai* and also many *dioiketai.* The village of Aqraba in Auranitis had an *epimeletes* and two *pronoetai.* Namara, a village of Batanea, had two *oikonomoi,* an uncertain number of *dioiketai,* and possibly a *syndikos.* It is probable that the villages in Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanea for the most part maintained their independence of cities in the neighborhood. Had the villages become dependent parts of city territories, it is not probable that they would have retained such an elaborate organization of their own.

Most of the inscriptions in which village officials are mentioned are of the third and fourth centuries, so that it is impossible to set the date at which the various offices were created or the date at which they fell into disuse.

2. *Village Assemblies and Councils.*

From the discussion of village officials we naturally pass to that of village assemblies and councils. Many public works appear to have been undertaken by the village as a whole. The following expressions point to the corporate action of a village: *τὸ κοινὸν τῆς κώμης, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης, ὁ δῆμος, ἡ κώμη ἐποίησέ τι.*[211] We cannot be sure who composed this *koinon.* Either it was an assembly of all the magistrates, or more probably an assembly of all the inhabitants of the village. In all the many references to action on the part of a village *koinon* no mention is made of any particular magistrates as having composed it. In the absence of any such evidence, it appears more reasonable to regard the *koinon* as a general assembly open to all the villagers. A study of the inscriptions in which the words *τὸ κοινὸν τῆς κώμης* or equivalent phrases occur will help to strengthen this opinion.

From Umm Iz-Zetun in Trachonitis come two inscriptions which tell of the erection of a sacred *καλυβή* by the *koinon* of the village and of the god. One of these inscriptions has been cited above in connection with the *pronoetai,*[212] and the other reads as follows: *Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν* Μ(*άρκου*) Αὐρ(*ηλίου*) Πρόβου Σεβ(*αστοῦ*) ἔτ(*ους*)ζ', *ἐκτίσθη ἡ ἱερὰ καλυβὴ ὑπὸ κοινοῦ τῆς κώμης εὐτυχῶς.*[213] The date of this inscription is A.D. 282. Four inscriptions from Lubben record the action of the village of Agraena, which was clearly the name of the ancient village which stood on this site.[214] It will suffice to quote one of these inscriptions to show the type of all four: *ἔτους ιβ' κυρίου Καίσαρος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ κυνὸν Ἀγραίνης ἐπ[ό]ησεν Θεῷ Αυμου δι(ὰ) Πλάτωνος καὶ Αβουνου.*[215] The date of this inscription is A.D. 233. The two men here mentioned were temple treasurers,[216] and the *koinon* of the village appears to have erected some building or monument in honor of the *Θεὸς Αυμου.*

An inscription from Damit il-Alya, also in Trachonitis, mentions a building in honor of the same god, and again we see that the building was undertaken by the common action of the village: *Θεῷ Ἀνικήτῳ Αυμου ο(ἰ)κοδόμησεν τὸ κοινὸν τῆς κώ[μ](ης) Δαμά(θ)ων.*[217] An inscription from Schaqra in Trachonitis tells of the

211 Wad., 2457 a, 2502, 2188, 2237.
212 I.G.R.R., III, 1187.
213 P.A.E.S., 765[12].
214 *Ibid.,* 793, 793[1], 793[2], 793[3].
215 *Ibid.,* 793[1].
216 *Ibid.,* 793.
217 *Ibid.,* 800[2]; *cf.* 800[7].

common approval of the people of the village in a certain project. Part of the inscription reads as follows: *ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἀπὸ Κω[ρ]ίνου? κώμης ἐκ κοινῆς α[ὐτῶν] εὐδοκήσ[εως] μηδένα τῶν αὐτῶν κωμητῶν . . . ἐπὶ κοινῷ [τ]όπῳ, τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἐν χώματι Δαναβων.*[218] From Harran in Trachonitis comes an inscription recording another building enterprise undertaken by a village. The inscription ends with the following words: *[ἡ κώμη ἀν]έσ[τη]σεν διὰ [Αὔ]σου Λαν. . .*[219] An inscription from Egla in Batanea tells of the erection of a public building by the villagers: *οἱ ἀπὸ κώμης Ἔγλων θεῷ αὐτῶν Ἐθάῳ ἀνέστησαν δημοσίαν τὴν οἰκοδομήν.*[220] An inscription from Djeneine in Batanea has been cited above as showing that the people of a village elected *dioiketai.*[221] Here we see the common action of a village, namely, in the election of its officials. This probably means that the village had an assembly in which the voting took place.

Another mention of collective action on the part of a village is made in an inscription from Kefr-Liha in Auranitis. This inscription has been cited above in connection with the *strategos.*[222] In this inscription, instead of the phrase *τὸ κοινὸν τῆς κώμης*, we find the words *οἱ κωμῆται ἔκτισαν.* Finally, we have an inscription from El-Mouschennef in Batanea, in which we learn that the *koinon* of a certain town built an upper story in a house. The inscription reads thus: *τὸ κοινὸν Μανηνῶν ἔκτισεν τὸ ὑπερῷον.*[223]

These inscriptions make it abundantly clear that villages were capable of common action. There is no mention of special officials or committees determining the action for the community as a whole. The expression *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης* especially must apply to all of the villagers, as no particular men are designated. The only way in which the villagers may reasonably be supposed to have formed common projects is by a common assembly.

The evidence that Syrian villages, sometimes at least, had councils or *βουλαί* is not so clear, but it appears that some of the more highly organized villages had these councils. The word *βουλή* is not found in Syrian village inscriptions, but the word *βουλευτής* is found. In an inscription from Umm Iz-Zetun in Trachonitis a *bouleutes* appears. This inscription has been quoted above in connection with *pronoetai.*[224] Had the councillor been the councillor

218 Wad., 2505.
219 *Ibid.*, 2460.
220 *Ibid.*, 2209.
221 *Ibid.*, 2188.
222 *Ibid.*, 2399.
223 *Ibid.*, 2213.
224 I.G.R.R., III, 1187.

of a community other than the village mentioned in the inscription, the name of that other community would probably have been included. We have also seen that this village had an assembly, which shows that the village was highly organized.

Two inscriptions from Kanata in Auranitis have already been mentioned.[225] In one of them a *bouleutes* appears. As has been said above, Waddington believes that Kanata was a city, and one of his arguments in support of this theory is that this town had a council. Now, if it can be established that villages may have had councils, this argument of Waddington's falls down. As I have attempted to show above, there is no clear evidence that Kanata was a city, so the mention of a *bouleutes* in an inscription from this town may be a further proof that villages sometimes had councils.

From Mjedil in Trachonitis comes an inscription in which, if the restoration be correct, a *bouleutes* figures. It has been pointed out that a village stood on this site,[226] and since the name of no town is mentioned together with the name of the *bouleutes,* the logical inference is that he was the councillor of the village. The inscription is too fragmentary to permit us to learn anything as to the character or activity of the *bouleutes.*[227]

From El-Kusseib in Batanea comes an inscription in which a *bouleutes* figures: *προνοίᾳ Αὔθου βουλ(ευτοῦ) καὶ Ὀδενάθου καὶ Σαβείνου υἱῶν Σαμέθου ἐκτίσθη τὸ μνημῖον.* [228] Waddington assumes without question that Authos was *bouleutes* of the city upon which El-Kusseib depended. Such an assumption does not seem justified. It is at least possible that Authos was *bouleutes* of the village where the inscription is found. There is, moreover, no evidence that El-Kusseib was anything but a village.

The word *bouleutes* occurs in an inscription from It-Taiyebeh in Auranitis. There is no likelihood that this place was ever a city, and the *bouleutes* may well have been the councillor of the village where the inscription was found. The inscription reads thus: *Αδβηλος Σοαιμος βουλευτὴς ἐτ(ῶν) ρ'.*[229] From Khabeb in Trachonitis comes an inscription in which mention is made of a *bouleutes,* and there is no evidence that a city stood on this site. The inscription reads as follows: *ὑπατ(ε)ίας Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ η' καὶ Μαξιμινιανοῦ τὸ ζ' Σε(βαστῶ)ν, Αὐρ. Οὖρος Ἀουίδου βου(λευτὴς) τὸ Τύχ(ε)ιον ἐξ*

225 Wad., 2412 e, 2412 f.
226 P.A.E.S., 787.
227 *Ibid.*, 787[1].
228 Wad., 2204.
229 P.A.E.S., 624.

εἰδίων ἐποίησεν.[230] From Khulkhula, also in Trachonitis, comes an inscription in which a *bouleutes* appears: Θεόμνηστος Αἰλάμου ὁ καὶ Θαῖμος βουλ(ευτὴς) καὶ Γαῦτος ἀδελφὸς, ὀπτίον λεγ(ιῶνος), ἐποίησαν τὸ ἡρῷον.[231] Waddington assumes that there must either have been a city here or else that the *bouleutes* was councillor of the city on which this town depended. A third alternative is possible, and that is that a village stood here at the time of our inscription, and that the *bouleutes* was councillor of the village.

An inscription from the *metrokomia* of Phaena in Trachonitis mentions a *bouleutes,* and it is not surprising that *metrokomiai* should have councils, as we should naturally expect their organization to be more elaborate than that of ordinary villages. The inscription reads thus: . . . . Δη]μητρίου βου[λευτοῦ . . . . . ου τοῦ καὶ. . . .[232] One other inscription may be cited as containing a possible reference to a village *bouleutes.* This inscription comes from Umm Il-Kutten in Auranitis and reads as follows: Βανιος Γαδδου βουλευτὴς κὲ Ομρη Σολαιμου σύμβιος αὐτοῦ ἔκτισαν τὸ τρίκλινον.[233] However, despite the absence of any direct testimony to that effect it is highly probable that a city stood upon this site, as the ruins of this place are very extensive.[234]

From the inscriptions cited above it can be seen that in all probability Syrian villages sometimes had councils. The inscriptions from Umm Iz-Zetun, Kanata, and Mjedil make this belief especially plausible, and the inscriptions from El-Kusseib, It-Taiyebeh, and Khabeb add weight to this opinion. Of the size and mode of selection and power of these councils nothing is known. Old age is much reverenced in the East, and perhaps the council was composed of the oldest and most influential men of the village. We have seen already that practically all the inscriptions in which officials of the villages are mentioned come from Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanea. The same is true of the inscriptions which refer to village assemblies and village councils. In these districts there is very little evidence of cities controlling large territories in which villages were situated. Each village seems to be a more or less independent unit, with comparatively little dependence upon a unit higher than itself, except of course the central administration of the Romans.

230 Wad., 2514.
231 I.G.R.R., III, 1131, or Wad., 2537 e.
232 Wad., 2535.
233 P.A.E.S., 209.
234 *Ibid.,* Butler, II A, part II, p. 137.

II.

The administration of the Syrian village. Village revenue. Village expenditure. Relation of the village to the city on which it depended and to Rome in financial matters. Private ownership of villages. Patronage of villages.

1. Village Revenue.

In the last section we have seen that many buildings were erected and public works undertaken at the common expense of this or that village.[235] The citation of two more inscriptions will impress this point more deeply on the mind. The first of these was found at Qreye in Auranitis, and it reads as follows: Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. ἐκτίσθη ἡ λίμνη ἔτους ρ̅γ̅ ἐ(κ) κοινῶν ἀναλωμάτων τῆς κώμης, (δηναρίων) ιέ μ(υριάδων), ἐκ προνοίας Φλ(αβίου) Κορνηλιανοῦ π(ριμι)π(ιλαρίου).[236] The date of this inscription is A.D. 294 or 295. This village clearly had a common fund. It is interesting to note that a veteran was the benefactor of this village.[237] The other inscription was found at Dânā in the Djebel Rîhā, and reads thus:

. . . . . .] Εὐσεβίου πᾶσαν σπο[υδή]ν
. . . . . .] (ἀ)πὸ τοῦ ἀναλώματος τῆς κώμης
. . . . . .] ΛΕΓΟΥ μ(ηνὸ)ς (Δ)ίου -(?)του μψ̅ ἔτου(ς).[238]

The date of this is A.D. 428. These inscriptions make it evident that villages must have had a considerable income. This income, however, need not have been fixed or regular and, in point of fact, it probably was not. The question then arises as to what the sources of this income were. Among these sources may be enumerated: the sums paid by magistrates upon their entrance into office, fines for the violation of law, gifts from private individuals, income from the rent of public buildings and from the control of the water supply, and lastly taxes payable to the village by the users of its common land or the taxes from land owned by private persons. We shall now proceed to study these various sources of income in detail.

A. Summae honorariae.

It was customary for municipal officials upon entering office to pay a certain sum to the municipality. Liebenam has published

235 *E.g.*, P.A.E.S., 787[7], 788.
236 I.G.R.R., III, 1317.
237 *Cf.* Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, chap. VII, n. 33.
238 A.A.E.S., part III, no. 256.

a list of these sums, together with the places in which they were paid and the offices for which they were paid.[239] This list shows that the evidence for the payment of a *summa honoraria* is much less complete in the eastern part of the Roman Empire than in the western. But we are not totally without information as to *summae honorariae* paid by village officials in the eastern provinces upon their entrance into office.

We have seen above that such sums were paid by men on their entrance into the office of *komarchos* in certain villages of Lydia, and that the sum advanced from 250 to 500 to 750 and finally to 1,000 denarii. Another Lydian inscription, moreover, bears witness to the fact that a *summa honoraria* was payable for the office of *logistes* in a village community. The part of this inscription which is relevant to the *summa honoraria* reads as follows: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἑρμόλαος Ῥουστίκου ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς λογιστείας, καθὼς ἔδοξε τοῖς κωμήταις (δηνάρια) διακόσια πεντήκοντα προσχωρήσαντα εἰς τὴν τῶν ΤΕΙΡΩΝΩΝ συντέλειαν.[240] Kerameus thought that the name of the village was Τεῖρα, but Keil and von Premerstein are probably right in thinking that the word ΤΕΙΡΩΝΩΝ is not a proper name, and that it really means *tirones* or recruits. This point will be discussed more fully later. The *logistes* is an official who does not appear in the village of Syria. The amount of the *summa honoraria* which he pays is 250 denarii.

There is no record of a *summa honoraria* being paid by any village official in Syria. However, such payments may have been made. The table published by Liebenam shows how widespread was the practice of imposing this payment upon municipal officials, and in the later days of the Empire at least the Roman tendency to uniformity may have caused the spread of this form of tax to Syria, if it did not already exist there.

B. Fines for the violation of law.

There are many inscriptions in Asia Minor and Syria which bear witness to the fact that fines were imposed upon the violators of tombs. The fines were in several cases payable at least in part to villages. One inscription from Bithynia and four from Lydia mention the village as the recipient of part of the fine in case a tomb should be violated. The inscription from Bithynia was found at Lesa, and ends thus: [ε]ἰ [δ]έ τις [παρ]ὰ τ[α]ῦ[τα πο]ιήσ[ει

239 Liebenam, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-65.

240 Keil and von Premerstein in D.W.A., vol. 57, p. 87, note to 110. *Cf.* Kerameus in *Ath. Mitt.*, III (1878), 56.

δ]ότ[ω] τῷ ταμείῳ δηνάρια ͵ε [καὶ τ]ῇ κ[ώ]μῃ Λησαν[ῶ]ν δηνάρια ͵α.[241] The part of the fine payable to the village is one-sixth of the total fine and amounts to 1,000 denarii. From Falaka in Lydia comes an inscription also recording the fine payable to a village in case of the violation of a tomb: εἰ δέ τις παρὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα τι ποιήσει, δώσει τῷ φίσκῳ (δηνάρια) βφ' καὶ τῇ Θυαιρηνῶν κώμῃ (δηνάρια) αφ'.[242] In this case the village is to receive three-eighths of the total fine. Another Lydian inscription informs us that a village is to receive 500 denarii, which is one-third of the total fine.[243] At Kurdeli in Lydia was found an inscription according to which the village is entitled to one-sixth of the fine imposed for the violation of a tomb, and the share which was payable to the village amounted to 500 denarii.[244] An inscription found at Ajasurat, also in Lydia, shows that the share of the village in the fine for violation of a tomb was to be one-third of the total fine.[245]

When we turn to Syria we find no instance in which any part of a fine imposed for the violation of a tomb was payable to the village. However, we do find that provision was made for the punishment of those who violated tombs, and in the event of such a transgression taking place in a village it is quite probable that part of the fine would be payable to the village. An inscription providing for the inviolability of a tomb was found at Kasr Il-Baik in Auranitis.[246] This inscription unfortunately is very incomplete and does not concern a village, but at least shows the same concern for the safety of tombs as the inscriptions of Asia Minor show. An inscription from Palmyra also prohibits the violation of a tomb, and this prohibition must have been supported by a fine for its infringement.[247] In cases in which a fine is to be paid for the violation of a tomb it is very probable that at least part of the fine should be payable to the community in which the tomb is situated, as there would be no other means of interesting the community in the enforcement of the penalty for the violation of the tomb. An inscription from Nedjran in Trachonitis closes with the following words: μὴ ἐξόν τινα μετὰ τὸν (θ)ά(να)τόν μου τὴν σορὸν ἀνῦξε, δόσι ταμίῳ (δ)ι(σ)χίλια π̣· ✳ (ε)ντα[κ]ο̣[σια.[248] In

241 Wad., 1171.
242 A. Fontrier in R.E.A., vol. IV (1902), p. 263, no. 12.
243 Keil and von Premerstein in D.W.A., vol. 57, p. 91, no. 120.
244 *Ibid.*, p. 77, no. 108.
245 *Ibid.*, p. 59, no. 67.
246 P.A.E.S., 23.
247 Wad., 2622.
248 P.A.E.S., 785[1].

this instance the fine, which seems to amount to 2,500 denarii, is payable to the *fiscus,* and there is no indication that the village is to receive any share in it; but it is not at all impossible that the village was intended to share in the fine, as being the agent through which the *fiscus* might collect the fine.

There is no record of any other fines such as we might expect to find. Fines for damage done to public property, for interference with the water supply, for the disturbance of property boundaries, for corrupt practices in administration, for pollution of sacred precincts, and for trespass are the sort of fines for which we look, but which we fail to find.[249]

C. Gifts from private individuals.

Several inscriptions of Syria record the giving of large private gifts for public purposes. In these inscriptions it is often difficult to distinguish secular from religious gifts. It is only the secular gifts which properly concern us here, although the religious gifts from private persons must have lessened the financial obligations of a community to religious purposes. From Mjedil in Trachonitis comes an inscription in which we learn that a building was erected from the common fund of the community, which we know to have been a village, and we also learn that the site for the building was given by two individuals who appear to have had no official connection with the erection of the building. This inscription has already been quoted in connection with the *pistoi.*[250] An inscription from Kefr-Lihra in Auranitis has been cited above in connection with the village *strategos.*[251] In this case the villagers make a contribution from their private means to the common fund of the community. Again an inscription from Kanata in Auranitis, which has been mentioned above in connection with the *episkopoi,* tells of the contribution made to a building by a certain Julianus, apparently in a private station.[252]

An inscription from Zorava (ancient name) in Trachonitis records the erection of baths from private funds. This inscription ends with the following words: *οἱ ἀπὸ μητρο]κωμίας Ζοραουηνῶν ἔκτισαν τὸ βαλανεῖον ἰ[δίαις δαπάναις.*[253] Zorava was a *metrokomia.* An inscription from the city of Kanatha in Auranitis shows how generous the gift of a citizen might be to his city, and there is no

249 *Cf.* Liebenam, *op. cit.,* pp. 30-36.
250 P.A.E.S., 7877; see above, n. 122.
251 I.G.R.R., III, 1213; see above, n. 87.
252 Wad., 2412 f., or I.G.R.R., III, 1284.
253 I.G.R.R., III, 1155.

reason why a villager should not be equally generous to his village: *Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. Μάρκος Οὔλπιος Λυσίας Ἰκαύρου πρόεδρος ἐφιλοτειμήσατο τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι [ἐκ] τῶν ἰδίων εἰς τὸ κτίσμα τοῦ θεατροειδοῦς ὠδείου δ[ην]άρια μύρια, ✳ Μ, εὐτυχῶς καὶ καλῶς.*[254]

There are, however, many inscriptions which testify to the frequency with which gifts were made by private persons to assist in the erection of temples to the gods. A good illustration of this generosity is afforded by an inscription from Athila (ancient name) in Auranitis of A.D. 151, which contains the following words: . . . *τὰς παραστάδας καὶ κιόν(ι)α καὶ τ[ὰ] ἐπάνω αὐτῶν ἐπιστύλια καὶ καλι(ὰ)ς ἐκ τῶ(ν) ἰδίων ἐποίησεν ἔτους ιδ᾽ Ἀντωνείνου Κ(αίσαρος).*[255] The inscription shows how liberal the gift of a private person might be, and although the gift was made to a temple, it must undoubtedly have relieved the community of great expense. For had such gifts not been made by private persons the community would probably have been obliged to meet these expenses.

These inscriptions show that communities, whether cities or villages, were often helped in the construction of public buildings by private persons. These gifts may in some cases have been quite large and have formed no inconsiderable part of the total revenue of the community, but they formed at best but an irregular and insecure form of income.

D. Income from the rent of public buildings and from control of water supply.

As has been suggested above, it is quite probable that villages may have derived a small and irregular income from the renting of their public buildings, but we have no evidence to support this view. A safer assumption can be made in the matter of the water supply of the village. We know that Syria was a rather dry country, and the regulation of the water supply was vital to the prosperity of the country.

We have seen that at Palmyra an *epimeletes* was in charge of a certain spring.[256] It is quite reasonable to infer from this that particular officials would be responsible for the water coming from special sources. Moreover, an inscription from Bosana in Batanea, which has been cited above, shows us that two *pistoi* were responsible for the inauguration, so to say, of a spring.[257] Probably the *pistoi* themselves or other officials were responsible for

[254] Wad., 2341.
[255] *Ibid.*, 2372.
[256] *Ibid.*, 2571 c.
[257] *Ibid.*, 2239.

the subsequent regulation of the spring. We have also seen that the *metrokomia* of Zorava in Trachonitis had public baths.[258] These baths must have been under the management of an official of some sort, and a charge may have been made for their use. Finally, an inscription from Qreye in Auranitis speaks of the construction of a λίμνη, or reservoir, at the common expense of the village.[259] Probably some charge was made for the water taken from this reservoir. It is evident from these inscriptions that Syrian villages were deeply concerned in their water supply, and it is not unreasonable to assume that the control of this water supply gave the village a considerable income.

E. Income from public land.

The main source from which the revenue of a village was derived was in all probability its public land. We have evidence that in certain cases villages in the East had common land. An inscription from Castollus in Lydia will serve to substantiate this statement: ἐν Καστωλλῷ κώμῃ Φιλαδελφέων, γενομένης ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κωμητῶν παντῶν, καὶ βουλευσαμένων αὐτῶν διελέσθαι τὸν ὑπ[άρχ]οντα αὐτοῖς ἀγρὸν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὅροις [τό]πῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ Ἀγάθωνος μά[νδ]ραις [ὄ]ντα ὀρ(ε)ινόν, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντ[ες] οἱ κωμ[ῆται.[260] We see from this that the village divides its land into private lots, taking into consideration that all the land was not of equal value because some of it was rough and hilly. This division of the common land reminds us of a similar division into lots in medieval villages of Europe. The inscription, however, leaves us in doubt as to whether the common land was divided into lots which were to be held privately in perpetuity, or whether the lots were simply assigned to individuals temporarily. In either case the legislation of the village had as its object the fair distribution of the land. In passing, it is interesting to note that the village of Castollus had quite a complex organization, comprising both a *gerousia* and an *ecclesia*. A discussion of the character of the *gerousia* is not relevant to a study of the Syrian village council, however, as Chapot has shown that the *gerousia* did not really correspond to the *boule*.[261]

As further evidence that villages had common lands, the case of Baetocaece may be cited. In Hellenistic times this village seems to have formed an independent unit. It had common land

258 I.G.R.R., III, 1155.
259 *Ibid.*, 1317.
260 O.G.I.S., 488.
261 Chapot, V., *La Province Romaine Proconsulaire d'Asie*, pp. 216-230.

which Antiochus bestowed as a favor upon the god of Baetocaece. It is clear that the possession of these common lands was profitable, for otherwise they would not have been given to the temple as a favor. The revenue from these common lands is mentioned in the phrase ἡ ἀπὸ ταύτης πρόσοδος.[262] Before this village was given to the god of Baetocaece it belonged to a certain Demetrius, who undoubtedly enjoyed its revenue. Now it is apparent that if the owner of the village derived profit from it, it must have had an income larger than was needed to meet its necessary expenses, and an income from land is the only conceivable source of large and steady income.

In what way the village made use of its common land is not known, and probably the practice varied. The land may either have been given to the villagers for use in return for a small percentage of its produce, which was to be paid to the village chest, or if the land were pasture, farmers may have been taxed according to the number of their sheep or cattle grazing on the common pasture. It is also possible that some villages may have sold part of the produce of their common land to other communities. The city of Laodicea, for example, was able to export wine to Alexandria.[263] The tax for pasturage was common on *ager publicus,* as Pliny tells us: "etiam nunc in tabulis censoriis pascua dicuntur omnia ex quibus populus reditus habet quia diu hoc solum vectigal fuerat."[264] This is a general statement and it indicates that a pasturage tax was widely established. It is probable that the Romans for their *ager publicus* employed much the same taxes as they found already existing in the territories of municipalities.

The direct evidence that villages held land in common is comparatively slight. But we can feel sure that the land surrounding a village, however held, must have been a source of revenue for the village. The income from land was probably the only source of income for a village which was both regular and considerable in amount.

2. Village expenditure.

By far the largest expense that villages had to meet was for the construction of public buildings. These buildings were erected for both secular and religious purposes, and sometimes, as in the

262 I.G.R.R., III, 1020.
263 Strabo, XVI, 2, 9.
264 Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XVIII, 3.

case of a temple, the expenditure must have been very great.[265] But the Syrian village community was spared many expenses which a modern municipality has to face. In the first place, no salaries were paid to the village officials. On the contrary, as we have seen, the officials paid certain sums to the village. There is a record that, in some cities in the East, public slaves performed menial labor. This sort of labor costs a modern community much, and to be freed from this financial burden was a great help to ancient municipalities.[266] There is no record of the presence of such public slaves in the Syrian villages, but they may have existed. A third expense that villages were spared was that for public lighting. The city of Antioch was famous for its lights, but its fame came to it by way of contrast to other communities.[267] There is no record of village police in Syria. Any police duty that was done in the villages was probably performed by the city in whose territory the village lay or by officials of the central administration. We have no record of a village expending any money for education, for public health, or for charity. However, there is an inscription from Bakousa near Antioch which may refer to a village school: *οἱ ἐπαναβαίνοντες παῖδες εἰς τὰ ιε΄ ἔτη ἐμβαίνοντες εἰς τὰ ις΄, ἵνα συμβαστάζωσι τῇ κώμη τας. . . .*[268] This inscription is difficult to understand, but even if it does refer to a village school, there is nothing to indicate that the village contributed to its upkeep.

Thus it can be seen that the only large expense, except for taxation by the city on which it depended and by Rome, which will be treated in the next section, that villages had to meet was for the construction and maintenance of public buildings and public works. We have no direct evidence of other expenses, and we are compelled to study them entirely by a consideration of analogous conditions in cities and by a consideration of the probability that had any expenses of this sort occurred, we would have at least occasional record of them.

3. Relation of the village to the city on which it depended and to Rome in financial matters.

The relation of the village in Syria to the city on which it depended in the field of finance has to be studied entirely from

265 Wad., 2046.
266 Pliny, *Epistolae*, X, 31.
267 Ammianus, XIV, I, 9.
268 A.A.E.S., part III, no. 18.

negative evidence. We learn of special exemptions granted to this or that village for some particular reason, and from this we infer that certain taxes were the general rule. One great difficulty that confronts us is in deciding whether certain taxes were levied directly by the imperial government upon the village or whether the city to whose territory the village belonged acted as the agent of the central authority in the collection of these taxes, which was the method used in Asia from the first century before Christ onwards. Still a third possibility is that the city levied these taxes quite independently of any higher authority.

The most important source of the revenue of a city was the land owned by it.[269] The possession of a large *territorium* was regarded as an advantage to a city. As a reward for service, additions of land were made to cities by Roman generals. Sulla, for example, rewarded Stratonicea in Caria for loyalty to Rome in the Mithridatic war by an increase in territory.[270] In what fashion the city would derive profit from its territory is not clear, but that it did so is evident. In a letter, Cicero refers to the territory of the Campanian municipality of Atella. This land is situated in Gaul, but it is clear that it was important in the support of the Italian city: "Locutus sum . . . de agro vectigali municipii Atellani qui esset in Gallia . . . municipii fortunas omnes in isto vectigali consistere."[271] And again Cicero speaks of the profit derived by Arpinum from its Gallic land: "Quorum (Arpinatium) quidem omnia commoda omnesque facultates, quibus et sacra conficere et sarta tecta aedium sacrarum locorumque communium tueri possint, consistunt in eis vectigalibus, quae habent in provincia Gallia."[272] The dwellers in the *territorium,* then, had to pay *vectigalia* to the municipality.

There are several ways in which a city could profit by its territory. It might lease out its land to farmers in exchange for a fixed money payment or for a payment in kind. Unfortunately we have no evidence on this point. Whether the land would be leased out to individual tenants or to villages as a whole would probably be dictated by circumstances. Again, cities granted the right of pasturage on their common land in return for a certain payment. This tax would naturally apply to those living in the villages dependent upon the city. In an inscription of the year 115 B.C., con-

[269] Liebenam, *op. cit.,* p. 12.

[270] Diehl and Cousin, in B.C.H., IX (1885), 446, fragment E. *Cf.* Liebenam, *op. cit.,* p. 1, n. 2.

[271] Cicero, *Ad Familiares,* XIII, 7.

[272] *Ibid.,* 11.

cerning a boundary dispute between Genua and one of her neighbors, it is apparent that the people of a certain hamlet in the territory of Genua must pay the twentieth part of their corn and the sixth part of their wine to the city.[273] Apparently the village as a whole is required to pay taxes to the city.

Taxes were sometimes levied on village markets. The inscription of Baetocaece, referred to above, may be divided into three parts. The first part contains a clause whereby the emperors Valerianus and Gallienus confirm to the people of this village the privileges which formerly had been bestowed upon them by the Seleucid monarchs. The second part contains the decree of Antiochus concerning the privileges of this village, and the third part is a decree of the city, probably Apamea, granting still further privileges to the village. Certain immunities are granted and among them is the right of holding its semimonthly markets without taxation. Presumably this tax would ordinarily fall upon the merchandise bought and sold at these markets. The portion of the inscription which deals with these markets reads as follows: *ἄγωνται δὲ καὶ κατὰ μῆνα πανηγύρεις ἀτελεῖς τῇ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ καὶ τριακάδι.*[274] The Greek word *πανήγυρις* has the signification of the English word "fair," and the Romans translated it by the word "*mercatus.*" This special exemption seems to imply that it was customary for such markets to be taxed. From the form in which the inscription as a whole is cast it appears that under the Seleucid kings this market tax was ordinarily payable to the central authorities, but that under Roman administration, at least from the time of Augustus, the tax went to the city. The tax on markets prevalent under the Seleucids is analogous to the Roman *centesima rerum venalium.* This inscription makes quite reasonable the inference that local village markets in Syria were liable to taxation.

The third portion of the Baetocaece inscription, which is a decree of the city, contains a clause relative to live stock and slaves: *ἀνδράποδα δὲ καὶ τετράποδα καὶ λοιπὰ ζῶα ὁμοίως πωλείσθω ἐν τῷ τόπῳ χωρὶς τέλους ἢ ἐπηρείας τινὸς ἀπαιτήσαιως.*[275] Since this part of the inscription originated with Apamea, these words may be interpreted to imply that but for the especial dispensation granted, the live stock and slaves in the village would be subject to tax by the city in whose territory the village lay. It is interesting to note the way in which the city of Apamea complied with the spirit of

[273] Liebenam, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[274] I.G.R.R., III, 1020.
[275] *Ibid.*, 1020.

Antiochus and even increased the good fortune of Baetocaece. Of course this further grant by the city of Apamea did not necessarily take place in the time of the Seleucids; in fact, the vote of the city was sent to the Roman emperor, and the vote may not have been taken by the city until the city was under Roman rule. The confirmation by Rome of an old arrangement made by the Seleucid kings illustrates her willingness to let existing conditions stand without unnecessary change.

We learn from Velleius that Syria became a stipendiary province in the time of Pompey: "ut Syria, quae tum primum (64 B.C.) facta est stipendiaria."[276] The *stipendium* may have been either a fixed sum or a special proportion of the produce of the land. The former seems more probable, as it was the system employed in Asia. Under the Roman Republic, in case of emergency an additional personal tax may have been levied. In the second century of our era a one per cent property tax was levied in Syria: *ἔστι δὲ Σύραις καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐτήσιος ἑκατοστὴ τοῦ τιμήματος ἑκάστῳ.*[277] Under the Empire a clear distinction was made between *tributum soli* and *tributum capitis.* A *tributum capitis* was levied in Syria, and males between the ages of fourteen and sixty-five and females between twelve and sixty-five were liable to it, according to Ulpian: "Aetatem in censendo significare necesse est, quia quibusdam aetas tribuit, ne tributo onerentur: veluti in Syriis a quattuordecim annis masculi, a duodecim feminae usque ad sexagensimum annum tributo capitis obligantur."[278] We learn from Cicero of the existence of a similar tax in Cilicia: "Audivimus nihil aliud nisi imperata *ἐπικεφάλια* solvere non posse."[279] Tyrrell regards this as an extortionate poll tax,[280] and the account in Appian of the way in which this tax was regarded in Syria possibly indicates that here too the tax was irregular and extortionate. The collection of these taxes was probably entrusted to the cities. In the days before Roman occupation the tribute of the king was collected by municipal officials, and the adoption of this system by the Romans would save them much trouble. That the *tributum capitis* might exist simultaneously with the *tributum soli* is shown by a passage in Appian in which the condition of Africa is being discussed: *φόρον ὥρισαν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ*

[276] Velleius, II, 37. *Cf.* Bouchier, E., *Syria as a Roman Province,* p. 25 (Oxford, 1916).

[277] Appian, *Syriaca,* 50.

[278] *Digest,* L, 15, 3.

[279] Cicero, *Ad Atticum,* V, 16, 2.

[280] Tyrrell, *Correspondence of Cicero* (ed. 1890, Dublin), III, appendix 3.

καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ ὁμοίως.[281] It is self-evident that the taxes would fall upon those dwelling in cities and those dwelling in villages alike. The city would probably be held responsible by Rome for the collection of taxes within her territory. In like manner in that part of the country where cities were few the *metrokomiae* would probably be the collectors for the central authorities.

Rostovtzeff has shown that the levying of *aurum tironicum* goes back at least to the third century of our era.[282] His proof is quite convincing. He has brought together an inscription from Pizos in Thrace granting certain exemptions to this town, an inscription already quoted in connection with the *summa honoraria* from a Lydian village, and a passage from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates concerning a levy of this kind by Valens in the fourth century. The passage in Socrates reads thus: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἠμέλει τοῦ λοιποῦ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων στρατιώτας αὐξῆσαι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἤδη πάλαι στρατευομένους καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενναίως ἀγωνισαμένους ὑπερεώρα, τὸν δὲ συντελούμενον ἐκ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν κατὰ κώμας στρατιώτην ἐξηργύρισεν ὀγδοήκοντα χρυσίνους ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου στρατιώτου τοὺς συντελεστὰς ἀπαιτεῖσθαι κελεύσας, οὐ πρότερον τὰς συντελείας κουφίσας αὐτοῖς.[283] The inscription from Pizos contains the following clause: τουτέστιν πολειτικοῦ σείτου ἀνεισφορίαν καὶ συν[τε]λείας βουργαρίων καὶ [φ]ρουρῶν καὶ ἀγγαρειῶν ἄνεσιν. The date of this is A.D. 202. The people of Pizos were exempted from the duty of providing *burgarii*, guards, and transports. The *burgarii* were corps of native troops charged with the duty of defending small frontier forts. Such *burgi* existed in Syria.[285] These *burgi* were small watchtowers built to protect either roads or frontiers.

The inscription of Pizos shows us that in the third century of our era police soldiers were levied upon towns by compulsion.[286] The burden of supplying these soldiers evidently rested upon the villages from which the *emporium* drew its population. The Lydian inscription shows us that the burden of supplying soldiers fell upon the village as a whole. The passage from Socrates informs us that the levy was made upon villages in the fourth century. We have seen that *burgi* existed in Syria, and we may conclude that the burden of defending them fell upon native troops,

281 Appian, *Libya*, 135.
282 Rostovtzeff, J.R.S., vol. 8 (1918), p. 26.
283 Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, IV, 34.
284 Ditt., *Syll.*³, 880, as read by Rostovtzeff.
285 P.A.E.S., 233.
286 Rostovtzeff, J.R.S., vol. 8 (1918), p. 30.

especially in the later days of the Empire, when the strain of defense grew greater. Whether the levy for these military purposes was made directly by Rome or, as is more probable, through the agency of cities cannot be determined, but the levy was clearly an imperial one.

In addition to regular taxes many requisitions were made upon Syrian villages. Requisitions for lodging and supplies were made by Roman officials and soldiers. In the Baetocaece inscription, immunity from such requisitions is granted to this village, apparently as a special favor. The words granting this favor are: *καὶ εἶναι τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν ἄσυλον, τὴν δὲ κώμην ἀνεπίσ[τ]α[θ]μον μηδεμιᾶς ἀπορρήσεως προσενεχθείσης.*[287] Strictly speaking, this clause shows only that such requisitions were ordinarily made by the Seleucid kings, but it seems likely that this exemption was also an especial favor bestowed likewise by the Romans. From Cicero we learn that it was the custom of provincial governors to cost the towns in which they visited a great deal of expense; at least, this can safely be inferred from his insistence upon his own restraint in this matter in Cilicia. A passage relevant to this subject reads thus: "Levantur tamen miserae civitates, quod nullus fit sumptus in nos neque in legatos neque in quaestorem neque in quemquam. Scito non modo nos foenum, aut quod e lege Iulia dari solet, non accipere, sed ne ligna quidem, nec praeter quattuor lectos et tectum quemquam accipere quicquam, multis locis ne tectum quidem, et in tabernaculo manere plerumque."[288] As in the case of Baetocaece, so also to the *metrokomia* of Phaena in Trachonitis freedom from billeting is promised: *οὔτε γάρ συνεισφοράν τινα ὀφείλετε τοῖς ξένοις, καὶ ξενῶνα ἔχοντες οὐ δύνασθε ἀνανκασθῆναι δέξασθαι ταῖς οἰκίαις τοὺς ξένους.*[289] This implies that it was usual for soldiers or civilians to make unfair demands upon the people of provincial towns.

A case analogous to that of Phaena appears in the well-known appeal of Scaptoparene in Thrace to the Emperor Gordian. Outsiders have demanded hospitality and have forced their way into the markets of the village.[290] The soldiers in two neighboring camps have made too free use of the thermal baths which belong to the village. Here again we do not have an instance of regular and authorized levy, but unofficial and importunate requisition made by the Roman army upon the native population.

Official extortion appears to have been general in Syria. Vel-

[287] I.G.R.R., III, 1020.
[288] Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, V, 16, 3.
[289] I.G.R.R., III, 1119.
[290] Ditt., *Syll.*³, 888.

leius tells us that Varus, who was governor of Syria from 6 to 4 B.C., extorted much from the province: "Varus Quintilius . . . pecuniae vero quam non contemptor, Syria, cui praefuerat, declaravit, quam pauper divitem ingressus dives pauperem reliquit."[291] Tacitus also says that under Tiberius, in A.D. 17, both Syria and Judaea were exhausted by their burdens: "et provinciae Syria et Judaea, fessae oneribus, deminutionem tributi orabant."[292] These burdens would fall upon cities and villages alike.

Another requisition which was made upon villages was made by *paraphylakes*. The *paraphylakes* were perhaps a Pergamenian institution. Their duty was to maintain the peace.[293] Some of the requisitions which were made by the *paraphylakes* were legal, but others were illegal. In a decree of the city of Hierapolis in Phrygia we see their powers of requisition limited to the mere necessaries of life.[294] The *paraphylakes* are obliged to live at their own expense, and the articles which they may justly demand from the villages are strictly limited in number and variety: *μόνον ξύλα καὶ ἄχυρα καὶ μον[ὴν ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν.* This inscription shows that Hierapolis put *paraphylakes* in charge of the maintenance of order in its villages. It seems that the *paraphylakes* had been in the habit of demanding a *στέφανος* against the wishes of the *komarchoi*. The support of the *paraphylakes*, whether a regular tax or an irregular requisition, was an arrangement between city and village, quite independent of imperial administration. No inscription of Syria makes mention of *paraphylakes*, but their existence there is not impossible.

We see that the financial obligations of villages were of two kinds. One obligation was the payment of regular taxes, the other that of meeting certain irregular demands. The most important regular tax was that which was paid for the use of land. Then, under the Empire, was established a regular *tributum capitis*. Moreover, there is mention of a tax on the markets of a village, and a further tax for the rights of pasturage. *Aurum tironicum* may well have been demanded by Rome from the villages of Syria. Also *aurum coronarium* may have been demanded by returning governors. The chief imposition that was made upon villages seems to have been the billeting of soldiers and even civilians upon them. City officials were often importunate in their exactions from

291 Velleius, II, 117.
292 Tacitus, *Annales*, II, 42.
293 Anderson, J.H.S., XVII (1897), 412.
294 O.G.I.S., 527.

village communities, as we have seen in the case of the *paraphylakes* in one of the villages dependent upon the city of Hierapolis. The real extent of the financial obligations of villages in Syria to Rome and to the cities upon which they depended cannot be determined from the limited material at our command.

It may be well at this point to utter a few words of caution. We must remember that no general statement can be made about financial arrangements that will be applicable to the whole of Syria. For naturally the financial arrangements were not the same in those regions of Syria where flourishing cities existed as they were in the more backward parts of the country where few cities were situated, and where the villages would be in large measure, if not entirely, free from the control of cities. Furthermore, we must not forget that Rome's financial policy in the provinces was not a constant one, but was continually undergoing change. This paper is not the proper place for a detailed study of the financial administration of the Roman Empire, but the general lines along which the finances of the Syrian villages were administered have been traced.[295]

4. *Private ownership of villages.*

It was not an uncommon thing in the ancient Mediterranean world for villages to be owned by private individuals. Strabo, in describing the foundation of Rome, mentions Collatia, Antemnae, Fidenae, and Labicum, as well as other similar places. He tells us that these places were formerly cities, but that in his time they are villages owned by private individuals.[296] Strabo even tells us of a city belonging to an individual; for he says that in front of Onugnathus lies the island of Cythera, having on it a city of the same name, which is the property of Eurycles, the Lacedaemonian commander.[297]

In Syria also we have the record of the private ownership of a village. Baetocaece, to which several references have already been made, was at one time the property of a certain Demetrius: *κώμην τὴν Βαιτοκαι[κή]νην, ἣν πρότερον ἔσχεν Δημήτριος Δημητρίου τοῦ Μνασαίου ἐντουριώνα τῆς περὶ Ἀπάμιαν σατραπείας, σὺν τοῖς συνκύρουσι καὶ καθήκουσι πᾶσι κατὰ τοὺς προυπάρχοντας περιορισμούς.*[298] If we could in-

[295] For a good study of some of these financial questions see Rostovtzeff in Pauly-Wissowa, under *fiscus*.

[296] Strabo, V, 3, 2.

[297] *Ibid.*, VIII, 5, 1.

[298] I.G.R.R., III, 1020.

terpret the word ἐντουριώνα it might help us to explain the ownership of the village by Demetrius. It may show the relationship of Baetocaece to the district of Apamea, or it may mean that Demetrius was an officer of that district.[299] How did Demetrius come into possession of the village? It is quite possible that he secured it by gift from a royal personage. We know that land was sometimes given away in this fashion, and presumably if a village were within the bounds of this land, it would be included in the gift.

A few years ago an interesting inscription from Sardis was published.[300] It contains the record of the mortgaging to the goddess Artemis of certain properties by one Mnesimachus. The facts of the case appear to have been as follows. Antigonus awarded to Mnesimachus a large estate in the satrapy of Lydia. In order to secure capital for the working of this estate, so far as can be ascertained, Mnesimachus borrowed thirteen hundred and twenty-five gold *staters* from the treasury of Artemis at Sardis. Unable to pay back this sum when called upon to do so, he mortgaged his land to the goddess. What we have is the mortgage deed. In the list of Mnesimachus' properties are included several villages. Mnesimachus does not own these villages outright, but holds them as the tenant of Antigonus. For some of these villages Mnesimachus has to pay a fixed rental of fifty gold *staters* a year to the chiliarchy of Pytheus. For another village the rental is fifty-seven gold *staters* payable to another chiliarchy, the name of which is not fully preserved. It is stated that Antigonus can take the lands away from Artemis διὰ Μνησίμαχον, that is, by taking them away from him. The lands were probably part of the χώρα βασιλική of Antigonus, as no dependence on Sardis is indicated, and the regular φόρος of the royal domains is mentioned.[301] The Hellenistic kings regarded the land which they conquered in war as their own. They gave it away to their officers as they pleased, according to one of two methods. The first method was that of hereditary tenure with φόρος payable to the king, and the second method was to give the land in absolute ownership. It was by the first method that Mnesimachus held the villages which he mortgaged.

A certain Laodice bought from Antiochus II some of his royal domain. She became the absolute owner of the property with full right to dispose of it at her pleasure: ἐφ' ᾧ οὐθὲν ἀπολεῖ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν

299 *Cf.* O.G.I.S., 262, note.
300 Buckler and Robinson, A.J.A., XVI (1912), 11-82.
301 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

καὶ κυρία ἔ[σ]ται προσφερομένη πρὸς πόλιν ἣν ἂν βούληται. κατὰ ταὐτὰ δ[ὲ] καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτῆς πριάμενοι ἢ λαβόντες αὐτοί τε ἔξουσιν κυρίως καὶ πρὸς πόλιν προσοίσονται ἣν ἂμ βούλω[ν]ται.[302] The date of this inscription is 254 or 253 B.C. Included in the property sold to Laodice is the village of Pannos. In a similar fashion Antiochus I gave property near Ilium outright to a certain Aristocides.[303]

It is likely that Demetrius received possession of Baetocaece in one of these ways: either by gift or by sale. The fact that the village later comes into the possession of the temple may point to the conclusion that this village was not given to Demetrius outright. On the other hand, the village may have been given to him as a gift to be his in perpetuity, but later have been confiscated by the crown and then have been given to the temple.

5. Patronage of villages.

In the fourth century of our era and thereafter it was quite common for influential men to take large estates or villages under their patronage.[304] The principal motive of these patrons was their own territorial aggrandizement, and the increase of their income thereby. The client was willing to submit to the patron, as he thought that he could avoid the tax-gatherer in this way. The loss of a *vicus* by a *civitas* to a *patronus* was a serious menace to the *civitas,* for it would mean the loss of a large part of its territory. This would mean that part of its revenue would be lost without any corresponding decrease in its liability to taxation.[305] Patronage arose out of the unfairness of the imperial system of taxation. A certain tax would be levied upon a *civitas* as a whole, and the repartition and distribution of that tax among the villages dependent upon the city caused much trouble. The collectors were weak, and patronage flourished as a revolt against this system.

The evils of patronage are dealt with in certain titles of the *Codex Theodosianus* and the *Codex Justinianus.*[306] Under these titles are included eight constitutions ranging in date from 360 to 534 A.D. "They are directed against the patronage afforded by powerful folk to the peasantry, primarily with a view to defeating the tax-gatherer."[307] The constitutions in the Theodosian code are

[302] O.G.I.S., 225, line 10.
[303] *Ibid.,* 224.
[304] Zulueta, *De Patrociniis Vicorum.*
[305] *Ibid.,* p. 21.
[306] *Codex Theod.,* XI, 24; *Codex Justin.,* XI, 54.
[307] Zulueta, *op. cit.,* p. 1.

directed mainly to Egypt, but in one of the constitutions from the *Codex Justinianus* we see that the evils of patronage extended to Thrace, Pontus, and Asia as well.[308] The forty-seventh oration of Libanius, Περὶ τῶν Προστασιῶν, shows that Syria was also affected by these evils. The probable reason for the especial prominence of Egypt in this matter is that it was the most important granary of Constantinople, with the result that the emperors of the East were particularly interested in its proper administration.[309]

The patrons appear to have formed a very heterogeneous class. They were both military and civilian, and after a time the churches served as patrons also.[310] The purpose of the constitutions in the *Codex Theodosianus* is to prevent the lands from passing into the patronage of the rich and powerful, who are able to avoid the payment of taxes. They are designed to protect the villages, which are a "particularly easy and willing prey for the *potens*."[311] Thus the government tried by excluding outsiders to strengthen the natural unity of the village in order to give it powers of resistance to patronage. The corporate liability to taxation of a city made the patronage of a village especially harassing, as no one component of the city could be favored without corresponding hurt to its fellows.

But we are more particularly concerned with the oration of Libanius concerning the evils of patronage. This speech is addressed to an unnamed emperor in the latter half of the fourth century. The emperor is probably Theodosius, and an appeal is made to him by Libanius for the enforcement of an edict in regard to patronage.[312] The oration of Libanius is divided into two main parts. The first of these contains a description of the various kinds of patronage and the evils arising from them. The second part is devoted to the refutation of hypothetical arguments advanced against the suppression of patronage. The first part of the speech, concerning the various forms of patronage, may be further subdivided into four sections.

The first section deals with the military patronage of large vil-

[308] *Codex Justin.*, XI, 54, 1.
[309] Zulueta, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
[310] *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 10, 12.
[311] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[312] *Ibid.*, pp. 39 f., sets the date of this speech between A.D. 386 and 389. His argument in support of this date is reasonable, but not conclusive. However, we do not need for our present purpose to settle the date exactly. All we need to know is the approximate date.

lages in which there are many landowners. The villages buy the assistance of the local soldiery with money gifts or presents of various sorts. The villagers then take to a life of debauchery, and the police close their eyes to what is happening. Patronage gives the villagers the necessary force to resist the tax-gatherer. When the tax-gatherers ask for the taxes, the villagers mock them, and when the collectors proceed to arrest the archons of the village, they are assaulted and wounded. Incidentally, it is interesting to note again at this point the reference to village archons, as if they were the usual village magistrates. When the tax-collector returns to the city, he has either to make good the deficit or submit to a flogging.[313]

The second section of the speech deals with the patronage of ἀγροί, where there is a single master. In this case the master pays the taxes, and the patron interferes in behalf of the tenants and causes them to stop their honest work for the master. Villages are involved in this type of patronage also. The tenants pay the patron at the expense of their master. When the master seeks atonement before the law, he loses his case by reason of the noisy influence of the patron.[314]

The third section of the first main division of Libanius' speech concerns his troubles with his Jewish tenants. This section is a sort of particularization of the preceding one. Under the influence of a patron the *coloni* of Libanius have determined to throw off the yoke of Libanius, to which they have submitted for generations. The *patronus* seems to have interfered to protect the *coloni* from impositions at the hands of Libanius. This type of patronage seems very fair to us. It is only natural that the *coloni* should appeal to powerful men to protect them from the oppression of their masters.[315]

The last section, dealing with the nature and forms of patronage, mentions the widespread character of this abuse.[316] Libanius appeals to the emperor to put a stop to these evils.

In the second part of the oration, directed against those who maintain that patronage should not be suppressed, Libanius admits that patronage may be legitimate. The master is the *patronus* of his tenants, but they have no right of appeal above him to a more powerful *patronus*. The patronage of the gods is also admitted. The difficulty is that some forms of patronage are legal

[313] Libanius, Περὶ τῶν Προστασιῶν, 4-10.
[314] *Ibid.*, 11.
[315] *Ibid.*, 13-19.
[316] *Ibid.*, 17-18.

and others are not. If the adoption of a *patronus* involves the serving of two masters, it is wrong. Then Libanius launches a tirade against the generals, and shows that patronage is profitable to them. He urges that no source of illicit gain be left to them.[317]

We see from Libanius that the patronage of villages was an important factor in the economic life of Syria in the fourth century. It was dangerous chiefly because it tended to break up the city financial organization. One of the great evils of patronage which Libanius emphasizes is the use of force by the *patronus* and his clients in opposing lawful authority. Moreover, the *patronus* exercised an undue influence in the court room if he were brought to trial.[318] Another result was a weakening of the village organization. Under a strong *patronus* the officials of a village would lose all practical power. Patronage was a factor in the decay of municipal institutions and in the rise of feudalism. "Patronage is an indication at once of the ruin of the middle class, and of the growing power of the aristocracy."[319]

The aim of this chapter has been to show the manner in which Syrian villages were administered. A certain revenue was necessary to enable the village to live and act as a community, and various expenditures were incumbent upon the village. Village revenue, as we have seen, was derived from the sums paid by magistrates on entering office, from fines payable to the village for the violation of local ordinances, from gifts made by private persons to the village, and, most important, income from public land. In addition, the village may have profited by the renting of its public buildings, and by the control of the water supply. On the expense side of the ledger the largest item was for the construction and maintenance of public works. It must be reiterated at this point that ancient municipalities were spared many of the burdens which a modern town has to bear, such as the payment of salaries to its officers, and the upkeep of education, charity, and health, not to mention public lighting.

When we turn to the financial relation of the village to the city on which it depended and to Rome, we see that the obligations of the village were some of them in the nature of regular taxes, and some of them took the form of irregular requisitions with which the village was forced to comply. The land tax was the most important tax, but in addition to this there was the *tributum capitis,*

[317] Libanius, *op. cit.,* 19-27.

[318] Zulueta, *op. cit.,* p. 33.

[319] Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire,* p. 263 (2d ed., London and New York, 1906).

pasturage tax, market tax, *aurum tironicum,* and *aurum coronarium.* The most frequent imposition upon villages was the billeting of troops in them.

Villages were occasionally owned by private persons. These persons became the owners of the village, either by gift or by sale from royal personages in Hellenistic times. In the fourth century of our era the patronage of villages in Syria became common. The effect of private ownership and of patronage would be the same. The strength of the village organization would wane, and the village would depend upon the owner or patron to manage both its internal affairs and its relation with the central administration. Villages through the interference of a patron often succeeded in evading the payment of their taxes, and the spread of patronage did much to break down the municipal structure of the Roman Empire.

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THE DATE OF THE TRIAL OF ISIDORUS AND LAMPO BEFORE CLAUDIUS

B.G.U. II, 511, AND P. CAIR. 10448

BY CLARK HOPKINS

THE DATE OF THE TRIAL OF ISIDORUS AND LAMPO BEFORE CLAUDIUS B.G.U. II, 511, AND P. CAIR. 10448

PREMERSTEIN in his recent masterly article in *Philologus*[1] fixes the date of the trial of Isidorus and Lampo before Claudius recounted in these two papyri in A.D. 53. Since a "King Agrippa" is mentioned as present at the trial, the choice lies between 52-53, when Agrippa II was in Rome, and the early part of the reign of Claudius, when Agrippa I was at the court. Wilcken[2] had already concluded that it was after 51, because the scene of the action (Λουκουλ]λιανοῖς κήποις, as restored by him) did not fall into the possession of the emperor until A.D. 47 and because the presence of the empress, according to his brilliant restoration, πα[ρούσης Σεβαστῆς μετὰ] τῶν ματρωνῶν, can, in his estimation, only be possible after 51, in which year the presence of Agrippina is described by Tacitus as *novum sane et moribus veterum insolitum.* Premerstein goes on to show that the presence of the two senators mentioned, Tarquitius and Aviola, suggests the later date; and that the Salome also mentioned can at least be easily reconciled to it. He does not accept Wilcken's restoration of the Lucullan gardens, but attempts to show that other restorations point to the same conclusion. Bell in his recent article follows Premerstein.[3]

Curiously enough, one new bit of negative evidence opposes this view. In the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians published by Bell,[4] neither Isidorus nor Lampo is mentioned, though the names are given of eleven Alexandrians, ambassadors to Claudius. We know from Philo[5] that Isidorus, Lampo, and Dionysius were leaders of the anti-Semitic party in Alexandria in A.D. 38. We may perhaps identify this Dionysius mentioned by Philo with the

1 "Zu den sogenannten Alexandrinischen Märtyrerakten," *Philologus*, Supplementband XVI, Heft II, pp. 1 ff. (1923).

2 *Abhandl. d. Philol-Hist. Kl. d. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.*, XXVII (1909), pp. 783 ff.

3 H. I. Bell, "Juden und Griechen in Römischen Alexandreia," *Beihefte zum "Alten Orient,"* Heft 9, p. 28 (Leipzig, 1926).

4 H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (London, 1924).

5 Philo, *In Flaccum*, chap. IV; chap. XV for Isidorus and Lampo.

Dionysius mentioned in the letter of Claudius, as suggested by Bell.[6] If Wilcken and Premerstein are right, Isidorus and Lampo must have been leaders again in 52-53 (Isidorus is now gymnasiarch), presumably in the same rôle as before, *i.e.*, against the Jews. Why is it that they are completely ignored in the letter of Claudius written in A.D. 42? Their trial before this date would explain this silence. It is not a conclusive argument, but it justifies at least a reëxamination of the evidence given for placing the trial in A.D. 52 or 53.

In Kiepert and Huelsen's *Formae Urbis Romae Antiquae* (1912) four gardens are mentioned whose names might be supplied to form the scene of the trial. These are the Horti Serviliani, championed by Reinach;[7] the Horti Luculliani, given by Wilcken;[8] and the Horti Lolliani and Statiliani, suggested by Premerstein.[9] Lollia, according to Tacitus (*Ann.*, XII, 22), was condemned in A.D. 49 and her estate confiscated. Premerstein says that to her had belonged the Horti Lolliani, which were now transferred to the private property of Claudius. Only one inscription mentions them (*C.I.L.*, VI, 31284) and its date is uncertain. The objection to them as the scene of the trial is that they are not mentioned as used by or frequented by the emperors. The Horti Statiliani have not this name in the *Formae Urbis*, in which the gardens of Statilius Taurus are called Tauriani. The difficulty is not insurmountable, for Hirschfeld[10] says that from the property of this same Statilius Taurus may have come the *massa Statiliana terreturio Corano*, the *possessio Statiliana* and the *massa Statiliana terreturio Menturnense*. But these gardens are open to the same objection as the Lolliani—that there is no other mention of their use by the emperors. The property of Statilius Taurus passed into the hands of the emperor in A.D. 53 (Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 12). The gardens of Lucullus became the property of the emperor in A.D. 47, when Valerius Asiaticus was condemned (Tac., *Ann.*, XI, 1), and we find Messalina retiring to them when she separated from Silius (Tac., *Ann.*, XI, 32, 37). Since for all these three we know definitely the year in which they passed into the hands of the emperor, the determination of any one would preclude the possibility of the trial before A.D. 47. But the Servilian gardens still remain. The objection here is that they are not men-

[6] *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 29.
[7] *Revue des études juives*, XXXIV, 297 ff. (1897).
[8] *Abhandlungen, loc. cit.*, p. 783 ff.
[9] *Philologus, loc. cit.*, pp. 16 ff.
[10] *Klio*, II, 58, n. 3.

tioned as in the hands of the emperor until A.D. 65, when we find Nero occupying them.[11] That he used them extensively is shown by his presence there also during the last days of his reign.[12] To whom these gardens previously belonged, and how they came into the possession of the emperor, is not definitely known.[13] Reinach[14] suggests that Tiberius had inherited them from Servilius Vatica and therefore sees no objection to Claudius's using them in the first months of his reign and holding court there. Wilcken, he says, accepted this proposal and consequently approved the earlier date of the trial.[15] Subsequently, however, Wilcken returned to his previous position.[16] The gardens then determine nothing definitely, but leave the early part of the reign of Claudius as perfectly possible, at least until it is proved that the Servilian gardens were not acquired by the emperors until later.

The presence of the empress raises at once the question whether it was Messalina or Agrippina who was there. Dobschütz,[17] Wilcken,[16] and Premerstein[18] all identify her with Agrippina and make this identification an important proof for the later date of the trial because Tacitus mentions the presence of Agrippina in A.D. 51 as *novum sane et moribus veterum insolitum* (Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 37). But the proof is inadequate, for the situations are by no means parallel. In the papyrus we have a trial of two Alexandrians before the emperor in the presence of certain senators and members of the court. In Tacitus it is the public reception of Caractacus and the conquered Britons, while the praetorians stand under arms in the field before their camp. Nor does the *novum sane et moribus veterum insolitum* apply to the presence of the empress. Agrippina occupies a throne a short distance from Claudius, and Caractacus and his family, released by Claudius, address to Agrippina the same expressions of praise and gratitude that they had employed to the emperor. The comment of Tacitus is: *novum sane et moribus veterum insolitum, feminam signis Romanis praesidere: ipsa semet parti a maioribus suis imperii sociam ferebat.* There is no suggestion of a trial and no surprise at her presence in itself. Furthermore, there is not

11 Tac., *Ann.*, XV, 55.

12 Suet., *Nero*, 47.

13 See the discussion in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, VIII, 2487 f. (Gall), and *Zweite Reihe*, IV, 1822 (1923).

14 *Revue des études juives*, XXXIV, 297 ff.

15 *Revue des études juives*, XXXIV, 298.

16 *Abhandlungen, loc. cit.*, 803.

17 *Am. Journal of Theol.*, pp. 748 f. (1904).

18 *Philologus, loc. cit.*, 15.

a single mention in Tacitus of Agrippina's presence at any trial or reception of ambassadors, either private or public. We hear from Tacitus that she was responsible, through tears or threats, for some of the decisions; but even in the cases in which she is most interested, as that of Lollia, that of Calpurnia, and that of Statilius Taurus, she is not mentioned as present at the trials. Either she was really absent, or her presence was not considered in any way remarkable. On the other hand, the presence of Messalina at a private trial is explicitly mentioned by Tacitus (*Annals,* XI, 2). The trial is that of Valerius Asiaticus. This is not early in the reign of Claudius but it is in the second chapter that Tacitus leaves us about that reign, and there is no mention of its being a strange or an unknown proceeding. The trial should have been held before the Senate; instead of that, it is private, and Messalina is not only present, but directs proceedings.[19] Can we doubt for an instant that she could well be present at the reception of Eastern embassies or at trials, especially of Egyptians who were directly responsible to the emperor, long before the trials of consuls had been removed from the Senate House? Not only, therefore, does Tacitus show the presence of the empress to be possible long before 51, but his evidence seems strong proof that it is Messalina and not Agrippina who was present at the trial.

Premerstein[20] changes Tarquinius, named as one of the senators present at the trial, to Tarquitius, and identifies him with the Tarquitius who was legate under Statilius Taurus in Africa, brought to trial his proconsul on his return to Rome, was shortly afterwards himself expelled from the Senate, was restored under Nero, was made proconsul of Bithynia, was accused by the province and condemned.[21] The presence of this senator, he thinks, points clearly to the later date for the trial rather than the earlier. He says that though the position of a "*legatus pro praetore provinciae Africae*" is attached to no definite grade of the Senate between quaestor and consul, Tarquitius Priscus was at most praetor in 53, as he was still in 61, after his successful reëntry into the Senate; that probably he then stood in a still lower grade.

[19] Tac., *Ann.*, XI, 2. Neque data senatus copia; intra cubiculum auditur, Messalina coram. . . . ingressusque defensionem, commoto maiorem in modum Claudio, Messalinae quoque lacrimas excivit. Quibus abluendis cubiculo egrediens monet Vitellium ne elabi reum sineret.

[20] *Philologus, loc. cit.*, 18.

[21] Dessau, *Prosopographia*, III, 296 (1898); Lübker, *Reallexicon*, p. 1013, n. 4 (1914).

His entry into the Senate can therefore scarcely be much earlier than 46 and so first after the death of King Agrippa I in A.D. 44. This argument is by no means conclusive. There was no definite length of time for the duration of the praetorship. Tarquitius may perfectly well have held that rank for ten or twenty years. There seem, in fact, to be definite reasons why he may have been held back. He was not popular with the Senate and was expelled immediately after his accusation of Taurus. Such a step was not taken without the permission of the emperor. The fact that he was readmitted under Nero shows him as a favorite of Agrippina, not of Claudius. He might well then have continued in the same rank under the reign of Claudius until Agrippina was able to obtain for him a higher rank, that of proconsul, under the next emperor.

In regard to Aviola, the other senator mentioned in the papyrus, the question is one of identification. Premerstein (page 17) follows Reinach in identifying him with M'. Acilius Aviola, consul in 54, and proconsul in Asia in 65-66.[22] There is no more reason, however, to associate this name in the papyrus with the consul in 54, than to associate it with the other Acilius Aviola, perhaps his father, who was legate in Gaul in 21 and proconsul in Asia in 38-39.[23] If we accept the former, we seem led to accept the later date for the trial; if the latter, we are almost forced to accept the earlier date. The evidence on the point seems evenly divided between the two.

A very difficult problem, brightened, however, by the gleam of scandal, is that raised by the presence of Agrippa at the trial and by the mention of Salome (according to the interpretation of Wilcken) at the end. Is the King Agrippa mentioned Agrippa I or Agrippa II, and how is Salome related to him or to Claudius? M. Iulius Agrippa II had been given the title of king in 50, according to Josephus, and in 52-53 was at the court at Rome.[24] This allows Wilcken and Premerstein to take him as the king mentioned. For the connection of Agrippa II with the Alexandrians, Premerstein has no other explanation than that he had inherited the enmity from his father. The riot of the Alexandrians against his father had occurred, however, some fifteen years before. It seems scarcely possible that the old quarrel should have been allowed to rest so long and have been revived so late. Much more

[22] Lübker, *Reallexicon*, p. 7; Dessau, I, 6, n. 41; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, I, 253, 20.

[23] Pauly-Wissowa, *loc. cit.*, 20.

[24] Josephus, *Ant.*, XX, 135.

likely is it that it should have been brought up when Claudius first came to the throne and Agrippa I, who was directly involved, was a power at Rome. We know from Josephus[25] that Agrippa I had been extremely instrumental in helping Claudius obtain the throne. With both Agrippa I and his brother Herod, later king of Chalcis, Claudius was on terms of the closest friendship. Claudius personally gave Berenice, widow of the son of Alexander the alabarch and daughter of Agrippa, to Herod as his wife and made Herod king of Chalcis. Furthermore, Josephus mentions (*Ant.*, XIX, 277) at just this time a revolt of the Jews in Alexandria. Claudius, at the request of the kings Agrippa and Herod, sent commands to both Egypt and Syria that no harm should come to the Jews on account of the madness of Gaius, and that their former rights should be preserved. It was only three years before that the riot had taken place in Alexandria directed against Agrippa himself. Since that time the Jews had been in a state of unrest, waiting for the first opportunity to revolt. It seems the logical time to punish the ringleaders among the Alexandrians. Moreover, the close association of Agrippa and Herod would just fit Claudius's mention of two friends at the end of the document.

The meaning of the taunt ἐξαλώμη[ς τ]ῆς Ἰουδα[ίας is obscure. We cannot even be sure that the Salome mentioned is to be associated with Agrippa, though her Jewish origin and the presence of Agrippa point strongly to it. The son of Herod of Chalcis, by his first wife, was Aristobulus, who married Salome (daughter of Herod the Great and Elpis). Salome had been the wife of Pheroras, her cousin, and was left a widow in A.D. 34. It was probably soon after this date that she married Aristobulus. Since Herod had as yet obtained no kingdom when Claudius came to the throne, it is at least probable that Aristobulus was with his father at Rome. It is not impossible that the friendly relations of Claudius with Agrippa and Herod extended to the latter's daughter-in-law. It would certainly be sufficient ground for the jibe if court gossip attributed any influence over Claudius to Salome. Agrippa I died in 44; Herod died in 48. We have seen that Agrippa II was in Rome in 52-53. There is no mention of Aristobulus's being there at the same time. Nor is there any mention of coöperation between the cousins, Agrippa II and Aristobulus. Premerstein can only say that since Agrippa II was in Rome to obtain the kingdom of his uncle Herod, perhaps as suitor for this

[25] Josephus, *Ant.*, XIX, 237.

principality which once belonged to his father and as the future successor to Agrippa II, Aristobulus was there also and with him his wife Salome. Incidentally, in A.D. 41 Salome was thirty years of age. If we accept the later date for the trial, we shall have to put her influence over Claudius at the time she was forty-two; but the taste of Roman emperors in matters of feminine charm involves too long a discussion.

To sum up: the date A.D. 41 for the trial, which brings it into close connection with the riot at Alexandria in 38, is strongly supported by the presence of Agrippa against Isidorus and Lampo; the mention of Salome seems more logical in 41 than in 53; the friendship of Herod and Agrippa I, both close friends of Claudius, both supporting the cause of the Jews, seems just to fill out the mention of two friends by Claudius (II, 18). On the other hand, the argument of Wilcken and Premerstein drawn from the presence of the empress can have no weight; in fact, this rather supports the earlier date; the evidence in regard to the two senators named seems very evenly divided; the attempt to establish the scene of the action in definite gardens is inconclusive. The negative evidence in the letter of Claudius seems to clinch the argument for the earlier date. Isidorus and Lampo were eminently successful in their embassy to Gaius, against the Jews. Can we suppose that they are utterly ignored in a far larger embassy four years later; and that then after fifteen years they head an embassy again and are condemned with the aid, not of their real enemy, Agrippa I, but by his son, who, as far as we know, had no connection at all with Egypt except through his father? It seems too roundabout a supposition to carry the weight of truth.

HORSE SACRIFICE IN ANTIQUITY

BY HARRY M. HUBBELL

HORSE SACRIFICE IN ANTIQUITY

Lucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbrae,
Quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni
Effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno
Monstrarat, caput acris equi; sic nam fore bello
Egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem.
Aeneid, I, 441-445.

IN these lines Vergil describes the token which led the Tyrian exiles to choose a site for their new city. The discovery of the head of a horse in a grove on the coast of Africa caused the colonists to settle in that spot; this omen was interpreted to foretell that the city would be distinguished in war and prosperous in peace. *Sic nam fore bello egregiam et facilem victu.* The words *facilem victu,* which I have paraphrased by "prosperous in peace" (*i.e.,* living easily because of abundance of crops; Conington translates, "rich in sustenance"), have caused considerable perplexity. It has been held by some modern commentators (notably Henry and Ladewig) that such a construction cannot rightly be put on the passage. The objections are twofold: first, that the Latin does not properly yield this meaning but is rather to be taken as "living easily, because content with little" (Henry); and second, that if this meaning were possible this interpretation is excluded by the fact that the horse is not the symbol of fertility and prosperity.[1]

Those who object that *facilem victu* cannot be taken to mean "possessing an easy life because of the possession of wealth" (*i.e.,* in the sense of the English phrase "in easy circumstances"), but should rather be interpreted as "living easily, because content with little," and so implying a meagerness of life, cite some apposite passages from Seneca, of which the best is in the ninetieth *Epistle* (section 13): "sapiens facilis victu fuit, quidni? cum hoc quoque saeculo esse quam expeditissimus cupiat." Here the context definitely fixes the meaning; the philosopher requires but little for his sustenance; conforming to Stoic precepts he lives according to nature and his wants are few. Seneca's meaning is undoubted, and it is tempting to regard the phrase as an echo of

[1] Ladewig *ad loc.:* "Auch ist das Pferd nicht Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit und der Fülle." So also Henry, *Aeneidea.*

Vergil's words and so indicative of Seneca's understanding of the Vergilian passage. This interpretation can be supported by other uses of *facilis,* which, while not exactly parallel, yield the same general sense of "plain" or "meager." Seneca, *Epist.,* 95, 15: "Medicina quondam paucarum fuit scientia herbarum, quibus sisteretur fluens sanguis, vulnera coirent, paulatim deinde in hanc pervenit tam multiplicem varietatem. nec est mirum tunc illam minus negotii habuisse firmis adhuc solidisque corporibus et facili cibo nec per artem voluptatemque corrupto." Here *facili cibo* means "plain fare," or "food easily prepared." A similar use is found in the following passage (Seneca, *Herc. Oet.,* 655):

> Carpit faciles vilesque cibos,
> Sed non strictos respicit enses.

Facilis is used in the same sense by Grattius to describe the simple food suitable for puppies (*Cynegetica,* 307):

> Lacte novam pubem facilique tuebere maza,
> Nec luxus alios avidaeque impendia vitae
> Noscant.

In all of these passages the meaning is the same, "meager" or "plain."[2]

In spite of this array of evidence for the interpretation of *facilis victu* as "plain living," scholars in general incline to the traditional interpretation of "in easy circumstances" (born to years of plenteous life), led, no doubt, by the difficulty of supposing that the wealthy commercial city of Carthage could be described as having a meager existence. Carthage, however vigorous it may have been in war at certain times, was no model of Sabine frugality. The truth seems to be that *facilis victu* could have a middle or neutral meaning, and incline, now to abundance, now to meagerness. A person or nation may be easy to support because little is needed for the satisfaction of the appetite, or because there is such abundance that any appetite can be satisfied. To borrow a mathematical symbol for purposes of illustration, *facilitas vivendi* may be expressed as a fraction, of which the numerator is the amount of material things available, and the denominator

[2] Vergil, *Georg.,* II, 460: *facilem victum,* which is sometimes quoted as an instance of this use of *facilis* because of the implied contrast between the farmer's life and the life of the city which is described in the following lines, apparently has the other meaning of "abundant." It gets its meaning from the preceding enumeration of the abundant fruits yielded by the earth for the farmer's benefit.

the amount of appetite or desire. The value of the fraction, *i.e.*, the degree of *facilitas vivendi,* may be increased either by decreasing the denominator, which is the aim of the Stoics, or by increasing the numerator, which is the aim of the rest of the human race.[3]

If it be granted that *facilem victu* can mean "rich in sustenance," hence "prosperous," and that this meaning is more in keeping with the actual economic situation at Carthage, there is still an obscurity in the passage in that it is difficult to see the connection between the horse's head and abundance of food. The problem is not made easier by the fact that the first part of the double interpretation is obvious: the horse was the animal of war *par excellence* even more in antiquity than in modern times. It is, therefore, natural that the horse's head should be understood as foreshadowing preëminence in war. But what is the relation of the horse to abundance of food? To be sure, horses had their use in time of peace, though they played a smaller rôle in the agricultural life of antiquity than in that of modern times when the horse does or—until the recent introduction of automotive machinery—did most of the work which in antiquity was performed by oxen and other animals. A similar omen in *Aeneid,* III, 537-543, is given this double interpretation by Anchises:

> Quattuor hic, primum omen, equos in gramine vidi
> Tondentis campum late, candore nivali.
> Et pater Anchises: Bellum, O terra hospita, portas;
> Bello armantur equi, bellum haec armenta minantur.
> Sed tamen idem olim curru succedere sueti
> Quadrupedes, et frena iugo concordia ferre:
> Spes et pacis, ait.

Moreover, it is well known that the breeding and racing of horses was the sport of kings and nabobs in antiquity,—a mark of superabundant wealth. Consequently the omen may mean nothing more than this: that the city will be rich enough to be known as the home of horses. (So Conington.)[4] The case would be clearer, however, if the horse were, somehow or other, in itself a symbol of fertility of the fields. It was the desire to establish some such direct and obvious connection between the object and the prophecy which led to the other form of the story, which is found

[3] It is possible that in Seneca's use of *facilis victu* there is a reminiscence of the Stoic paradox, *μόνος ὁ σοφὸς πλούσιος.*

[4] Ladewig-Schaper suggest that the horse as the animal of Poseidon Hippius suggested the prosperity of Carthage resulting from sea-borne commerce.

in Servius, Justin, and Eustathius. In this variant form the Tyrians first discovered the head of an ox which was taken to indicate that the state would be fertile, but condemned to slavery and hard labor. Hence a second attempt was made to find a site with the resultant discovery of the horse's head and its intimation of success in war.[5]

The ox probably had no place in the original form of the story, which was an *αἴτιον* arising from the presence of a horse or horse's head on the reverse of Carthaginian coins. Eustathius seems to reproduce a description of a Carthaginian coin when he says that the horse's head was found under a palm tree, for the palm is frequently associated with the horse on these coins. The author of this story was acquainted with the idea of the horse as a symbol of fertility and hence found the explanation satisfactory. The addition of the ox head to the story came from the inability to explain the horse's head as a fertility symbol. It is impossible to determine the origin of the story, but some indications of its *traditio* may be found. Justin excerpted Pompeius Trogus, and Servius probably derived the story from that source. We know that he used Trogus, from the reference *ad Aeneid.* III, 108: "de hoc fabula duplex est; nam et de parentibus eius dupliciter traditur. . . . alii inter quos et Trogus Scamandri filium tradunt."[6]

[5] Justin, XVIII, 5, 15, 16: "In primis fundamentis caput bubulum inventum est, quod auspicium fructuosae quidem, sed laboriosae perpetuoque servae urbis fuit; propter quod in alium locum urbs translata, ibique equi caput repertum, bellicosum potentemque populum futurum significans, urbi auspicatam sedem dedit."

Servius *ad Aen.*, I, 443: "Historia hoc habet, quam more suo Vergilius per transitum tangit. Dido cum transiret per quandam insulam Iunonis, illic accepit oraculum et sacerdotem eius secum abstulit cum ei parum crederet promittenti Carthaginis sedes. quo cum venisset, sacerdos elegit locum faciendae urbi, quo effosso inventum est caput bovis. quod cum displicuisset, quia bos semper subiugatus est, alio loco effosso caput equi inventum placuit, quia hoc animal licet subiugetur, bellicosum tamen est et vincit et plerumque concordat ut ipse plenissime in illo loco, bello armantur equi, etc. (*Aeneid*, III, 540.) . . . illic ergo Iunoni templa fecerunt, unde et bellicosa est Carthago per equi omen, et fertilis per bovis."

Eustathius *ad Dionys. Perieg.*, 195: *Οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο περὶ Καρχηδόνος φασίν, ὡς ἄρα οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἔλισσαν, ἤγουν οἱ μετὰ τῆς Διδοῦς, ὀρύσσοντες εἰς πόλεως κτίσιν, καὶ βοὸς εὑρόντες κεφαλὴν ἀπέσχοντο τοῦ ὀρύσσειν, οἷα ὀπτευσάμενοι μόχθους καὶ δουλείαν συνεχῆ, ὃ καὶ οἱ βόες πάσχουσιν. ὀρύξαντες δὲ περί που φοίνικα πεφυτευμένον εὗρον κεφαλὴν ἵππου, καὶ συμβαλόντες σημαίνεσθαι σχολὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἄλλων δόσιν τροφῆς, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις, ἔκτισαν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τόπῳ τὴν Καρχηδόνα, καὶ ταῦτα πότιμον ὕδωρ μὴ ἔχοντι· καὶ τάχα διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Κακκάβη ἐκλήθη ὡς ἀνωτέρω ἔκκειται.*

[6] Cited by A. von Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.*, V, 21.

Trogus may have adapted the *Historiae Philippicae* of Timagenes of Alexandria, who came to Rome in the middle of the first century B.C., and was established there as a teacher of rhetoric. Timagenes, in turn, may have used for this period Timaeus,[7] but as the fragments of Timaeus which deal with the founding of Carthage do not agree with Justin it is hardly safe to hazard more than a conjecture as to the ultimate sources of the tale.

A similar uncertainty attends the transmission of the story on the Greek side. Eustathius used the unabridged Stephanus of Byzantium, no longer extant; further than this we cannot go, for the problem of the sources of Stephanus has never received adequate treatment. Timaeus seems the most probable source of the two branches of the story, but plausibility is all that can be claimed for this conjecture.[8]

The difficulty which these ancient commentators felt in interpreting the horse as a symbol of fertility is shared by some modern editors who expressly deny that the horse can be so considered. Other editors pass the point by in silence. There is, however, no general agreement on the interpretation of the omen; and inasmuch as the passage suggests as its most obvious meaning that the horse did signify fertility of the fields, it has seemed worth while to assemble the evidence from classical antiquity, and the corroborative material gleaned by the researches of modern anthropology, to establish at least the possibility that the idea of the horse as a symbol of fertility, or as a sacrifice in a fertility ritual, was abroad in antiquity and may have been in Vergil's mind when he wrote this passage.

The use of animals in fertility rituals has become a fundamental article of faith among anthropologists. It is undoubtedly true in the instances collected among semicivilized races, where the people are conscious of the meaning of the ritual, and there are indubitable survivals of fertility rituals in the civilized societies of the modern world, in which the meaning of the ceremony has faded out of the minds of the participants, and the performances

[7] *Cf.* Timaeus, frg. 146, and Justin, XXII, 1. There is a discussion of the sources in von Gutschmid, *loc. cit.*, and Geffcken, *Timaios' Geographie des Westens.*

[8] Stephanus-Eustathius give a list of names for Carthage, one of which is explained as meaning horse's head: *ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Καινὴ Πόλις καὶ Καδμεία καὶ Κακκάβη, ὅπερ τῇ ἐγχωρίῳ διαλέκτῳ ἵππου δηλοῖ κεφαλήν.* Κακκάβη is said by Semitic scholars not to be Phoenician. Is it Libyan and is this the real meaning, or is the name and translation of it merely a record of another attempt to explain the presence of the horse on Carthaginian coins?

are kept up from sheer force of conservatism, or because of the festivities and holiday incidental to the festival. Without following the anthropologist in his assumption that whatever is true of one race must have been true of all at the same stage of development, and that consequently Greek religion can be wholly explained from the customs of the savages of New Ireland, it may be taken as established that the fertility ritual was present in a great many of the religious ceremonies of antiquity. Briefly stated, the belief is that vegetation is controlled by a spirit which is at times embodied in an animal. At the proper season of the year, generally at the harvest, the animal supposed to represent the spirit of the grain is killed and sometimes eaten sacramentally. In other rituals portions of the animal are preserved for use the following spring. As examples the following instances may be cited from Mannhardt, whose *Korndämonen* is the *fons et origo* of the modern investigation of this subject.

Mannhardt, *Die Korndämonen,* p. 15 (I quote practically verbatim from the translation in Frazer, *The Golden Bough,* II, 9): "In the neighborhood of Udvarhely, Transylvania, a live cock is bound up in the last sheaf and killed with a spit. It is then skinned. The flesh is thrown away, but the skin and feathers are kept till next year; and in the spring the grain from the last sheaf is mixed with the feathers of the cock and scattered on the field which is to be tilled."

Mannhardt, *Myth. Forsch.,* p. 60 (Frazer, *The Golden Bough,* II, 20): "At Pouilly near Dijon the ox killed on the harvest field is partly eaten by the harvester, partly pickled and kept till the first day of sowing in spring—probably to be then mixed with the seed or eaten by the ploughmen, or both."

The clearest example of the use of the horse in a fertility ritual in antiquity is the sacrifice known as the October Horse. The ceremony can be ascertained by comparing the extensive notice of Festus, *s.v. October equus,* with the account given by Polybius, XII, 4 b. On the fifteenth of October of each year there was a race for two-horse chariots in the Campus Martius. The off horse of the winning team was killed with a javelin; the head was then cut off, and two companies of men fought for it, one from the Subura, the other from the Sacra Via. If the latter secured the head they hung it on the side of the Regia, while if the party from the Subura won, they hung it on the Turris Mamilia. The tail of the horse was also cut off and carried with all speed to the Regia and the blood allowed to drip on the hearth. It has been

conjectured, though definite proof is lacking, that it was this blood which was preserved and mixed with the ashes of unborn calves which were burned at the Fordicidia (April 15). At the Parilia (April 21), in a ceremony on the Palatine, this mixture was thrown on heaps of burning bean straw to make it smoke, while men and women leaped over the smoke and flames.[9]

At some time during the ceremony—it is not definitely stated when—the head of the horse was decked with *panes,* or small loaves of bread.[10]

This was evidently a very ancient festival, dating from the time when the Subura and Sacra Via were separate villages, or had recently been united into one. The Romans had long forgotten the meaning of the rite, for Polybius quotes an interpretation of it by Timaeus as being a symbolic revenge taken by the Romans for the loss of Troy by the trick of the wooden horse. This explanation Polybius rejects, to substitute for it his own interpretation—doubtless that of many Romans of his day—as a sacrifice to Mars for success in war. Plutarch (*Quaestiones Romanae,* 97) mentions the Trojan horse story and offers two other explanations; one that the horse, a spirited and warlike animal, is an appropriate sacrifice to the god of war; the second, that it was intended to be an object lesson to stand fast in battle and not to flee. "A horse is a vain thing for safety." Festus also testifies that the sacrifice was made to Mars, as a war god, and mentions the Trojan horse story as the belief of the vulgar, and repeats this in slightly different form, *s.v. Equus.* Mars, however, was not

[9] Fowler, *Roman Festivals,* p. 83.

[10] Festus, *s.v. October equus* (p. 190, l. 11, Lindsay): "October equus appellatur, qui in campo Martio mense Octobri immolatur quotannis Marti, bigarum victricum dexterior. De cuius capite non levis contentio solebat esse inter Suburaneses, et Sacravienses, ut hi in regiae pariete, illi ad turrim Mamiliam id figerent; eiusdemque coda tanta celeritate perfertur in regiam, ut ex ea sanguis destillet in focum, participandae rei divinae gratia."

Polybius, XII, 4 b: *Καὶ μὴν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πύρρου πάλιν φησὶ* (sc. *Τίμαιος*) *τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔτι νῦν ὑπόμνημα ποιουμένους τῆς κατὰ τὸ Ἴλιον ἀπωλείας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τινὶ κατακοντίζειν ἵππον πολεμιστὴν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷ Κάμπῳ καλουμένῳ, διὰ τὸ τῆς Τροίας τὴν ἅλωσιν διὰ τὸν ἵππον γενέσθαι τὸν δούριον προσαγορευόμενον, πρᾶγμα πάντων παιδαριωδέστατον· οὕτω μὲν γὰρ δεήσει πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους λέγειν Τρώων ἀπογόνους ὑπάρχειν· σχεδὸν γὰρ πάντες, εἰ δὲ μή γε, οἱ πλείους, ὅταν ἢ πολεμεῖν μέλλωσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ διακινδυνεύειν πρός τινας ὁλοσχερῶς, ἵππον προθύονται καὶ σφαγιάζονται, σημειούμενοι τὸ μέλλον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ζώου πτώσεως.*

Festus, *s.v. Panibus* (p. 246, l. 21, Lindsay): "Panibus redimibant caput equi immolati idibus Octobribus in campo Martio, quia id sacrificium fiebat ob frugum eventum: et equus potius quam bos immolabatur, quod hic bello, bos frugibus pariendis est aptus."

originally a war god exclusively, if at all, but a god of vegetation, to whom the Roman farmers prayed for prosperity[11] and to whom the Arval Brethren addressed their petitions for good crops.[12] The decoration of the head with the loaves of bread also points to the connection of the festival with the harvest. Moreover, the rite contains other elements which, viewed in connection with other fertility rituals, plainly indicate the meaning of this festival. The contest between the Suburanenses and the Sacravienses is the struggle between the Old Year and the New Year, so common in rituals of this nature;[13] the horse is the embodiment of the Corn Spirit which is slain with the harvest and kept until next seedtime.

The use of the cock and the ox in harvest festivals has been referred to above (p. 186). The use of the horse in such rites is paralleled by the following instance cited by Mannhardt (*Myth. Forsch.*, p. 165): "In manchen Orten Norddeutschlands nämlich wird beim Erntefest ein riesiges Pferd dargestellt, indem man einem jungen Burschen Siebe vor die Brust oder auf den Rücken bindet, über diese Siebe werden dann weisse Betttücher gebreitet, so dass das Ganze kenntlich genug einen Reiter auf weissem Pferde darstellt. Die so gebildete Gestalt heisst gewöhnlich kurzweg der Schimmel oder das Herbstpferd."

Mannhardt (*Myth. Forsch.*, p. 169) also cites parallels to the custom of adorning the head of the October Horse with bread: "die Bekränzung des Halmbockes mit Kuchen (*Antike Wald- und Feld-Kulte*, p. 168), des Hudlers mit Semmeln" (*Baum Kultus*, p. 269).[14]

The limits of this article do not permit a fuller discussion of the implications of this rite and it would be unprofitable to reproduce in fuller detail the subtle interpretations of Mannhardt in the fourth chapter of *Mythologische Forschungen*, which have been accepted by practically all modern scholars. But there is one point in the ancient *testimonia* which is of importance for the interpretation of the Vergilian lines, and which therefore merits

[11] Cato, *De Agri Cultura*, 141.

[12] Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, V, 85.

[13] There is a collection of instances of this sort in Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, part III, "The Dying God," pp. 254-261.

[14] The case that he cites from Johannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, IV, 59, is interesting, but not an exact parallel. It seems there was a baker's festival at Rome on the Ides of June in which *ὄνοι ἐστεφανωμένοι* were led in a procession. There is no indication of the material used for the *στέφανοι*, but Ovid, *Fasti*, VI, 310, and Prop., V, 1, 21, probably describing the same festival, show that bread as well as garlands was carried by the donkeys.

further consideration. The accounts of the October Horse in Festus are drawn from different sources and reflect a discussion of the rite and its meaning by Roman antiquarians of the last years of the Republic. Separate authorship is the obvious, though not necessary, explanation of the appearance of two notes in Festus about the same sacrifice—one beginning *October equus,* the other, *Panibus.*[15] The assumption of a separate origin of these notices becomes a certainty, however, when it is observed that they contain opposite interpretations of the meaning of the rite. The author of the account, *s.v. October equus,* mentions the popular error that the sacrifice was a symbolic revenge for the capture of Troy by means of the wooden horse, and cites the opinion of certain authorities that it was an offering to Mars, the god of war: "Quem hostiae loco quidam Marti bellico deo sacrari dicunt, non ut vulgus putat," etc. The word *quidam* represents some authority or authorities whose identity cannot now be determined. This opinion we have seen was held by Polybius, who reflects the opinion of Romans of his day; this opinion may in turn have been put into writing and made available for Festus's source by some late Republican writer on religious customs.

The other notice in Festus (*s.v. Panibus*) explains the sacrifice as part of a harvest festival: ". . . id sacrificium fiebat ob frugum eventum." This is the only ancient interpretation of the October Horse which agrees with that of modern anthropology. The author of this opinion evidently had a thesis to maintain, for he continues with a discussion of the reason for using the horse as a victim rather than an ox.[16]

Whatever the sources of Festus, they can hardly be earlier than the Augustan Age or the late Republic. We have, then, the fact that someone was discussing the meaning of the October Horse

[15] Quoted in note 10, p. 187.

[16] There is a *non sequitur* in the second notice in Festus (*s.v. Panibus*) which is due to careless excerpting. The whole reads as follows: "Panibus redimibant caput equi immolati idibus Octobribus in campo Martio, quia id sacrificium fiebat ob frugum eventum; et equus potius quam bos immolabatur, quod hic bello, bos frugibus pariendis est aptus." There must have been in the original from which this notice was taken something between *eventum* and *et equus,* for the statement that the horse is fitted for war and the ox for agriculture does not explain why the horse was sacrificed *ob frugum eventum.* The passage may be supplemented somewhat as follows: "Panibus redimibant caput equi immolati idibus Octobribus in campo Martio, quia id sacrificium fiebat ob frugum eventum; (for Mars is a god of agriculture as well as of war. Some say, however, that the sacrifice was not connected with the harvest but was to secure success in war,) et equus potius quam bos immolabatur, quod hic bello, bos frugibus pariendis est aptus."

and interpreting it as an offering *ob frugum eventum* instead of an ox, at the same time that Vergil is adopting the form of the Carthaginian story with the horse as a fertility symbol in place of the common tradition which brought both horse and ox into the myth. It is tempting to believe that we have here the traces of some investigation of the meaning of religious ceremonies which accompanied the religious revival under Augustus, and that Vergil's choice of the horse *only* as an omen was influenced by this contemporary interpretation of the October Horse.[17]

The sacrifice of a horse was not common among the Greeks and Romans, as is natural, for this animal did not figure very largely in the agricultural economy of the primitive times in which religious rites were formed. The October Horse is the outstanding example in this field due to the definiteness with which we know the ritual. In spite of the relative infrequency of such sacrifice it is possible to cite other instances of the sacrifice of a horse in a fertility ritual, or, what is the same thing for our present purpose, the association of the horse with a vegetation deity.

Festus (*s.v. October equus*) records that the Lacedaemonians sacrificed a horse to the winds on Mt. Taygetus, praying that they would carry the ashes far and wide over Spartan territories. Gruppe holds that in this and in the sacrifice of horses to Helios in the same place (recorded by Pausanias, III, 20, 4) the Spartans conceived of the sun's horses as winds drawing the sun's chariot. It is not necessary, however, to connect the two sacrifices: the sacrifice to the winds is intelligible in itself. The prayer to the winds to scatter the ashes over the fields of Lacedaemon points to a desire to have the magic force of the sacrifice spread by actual contact of the remains of the animal with the fields. It is possible, too, that the winds are worshiped because of their supposed fructifying power.

[17] Of the authorities known to have been used by Verrius Flaccus, whose work Festus abridged, the most probable as a source for the gloss *Panibus* are Veranius and C. Ateius Capito. Veranius, teste Macrobio *Sat.*, III, 5, 6, and III, 20, 2, wrote *Pontificales Quaestiones* and *De Verbis Pontificalibus*. He was probably contemporary with Cicero. Capito wrote *De Iure Sacrificiorum* (Macrobius, III, 10, 3) and was evidently considered an authority in the field of religion, for he was chosen by Augustus to arrange the ceremonies of the secular games. Zosimus, II, 4: *ταύτης ἐπὶ χρόνον τῆς θυσίας ἀμεληθείσης, αὖθίς τινων συμπεσόντων ἀποθυμίων ἀνενεώσατο τὴν ἑορτὴν* Ὀκταβιανὸς *ὁ σεβαστός . . . τὸν θεσμὸν* Ἀτηίου Καπίτωνος *ἐξηγησαμένου*. If Capito were responsible for the interpretation of the October Horse as *ob frugum eventum*, there would be a distinct probability of connection between his investigations of this rite and Vergil's idea of the horse as a symbol of fertility.

Breezes are called ζωογόνοι, ψυχοτρόφοι, not because they are in our sense life-giving and refreshing, but because they are souls as well as breath (πνεύματα). Geoponica, ix, 3, contains an apposite passage: ἄνεμοι οὐ τὰ φυτὰ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα ζωογονοῦσι. Vergil, *Georg.*, III, 274, testifies to the impregnating power of the winds, and Suidas, *s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες says that when an Athenian was about to be married he prayed and sacrificed to the Tritopatores, which Demon held to be winds.[18]

The divinity most closely associated with the horse is Poseidon, who is regularly represented in a chariot drawn by horses. Horses were also sacrificed to him in many places. Now Poseidon is a god not only of the salt sea—the most common conception of him—but of water in general, and of vegetation—apparently because vegetation is dependent on water.[19] As a god of vegetation he bears the epithet Phytalmios and was worshiped under this name at Troezen, where his temple was near that of Demeter Thesmophoros (Paus., II, 32, 8). To him the people of Troezen sacrificed the first fruits (Plut., *Theseus,* VI). Poseidon was also closely connected with Demeter in other places and was worshiped in the same temple; the reason probably was the natural association of two vegetation divinities rather than the quaint one given by Plutarch (*Sympos.,* IV, 4, 3) that bread is improved by the addition of salt.

There remains the horse-headed image of Demeter at Phigaleia. The existence of this statue may well be questioned, for there is no evidence for it save Pausanias, who did not see it, but reported the account of those who had seen a substitute made some time after the destruction of the original. This vagueness of testimony lends uncertainty to the interpretation. Various attempts to prove a connection with the East have been inconclusive, and we can only leave the matter with a query. For the present purpose, however, it makes little difference what the origin of the statue was. The important point is that it had been accepted for generations as a representation of Demeter, the goddess of grain, with a horse's head, and thus there is established in another instance an association of the horse with a vegetation deity.[20] There is also a myth which Pausanias connects with the statue that

[18] J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion,* pp. 179 f.

[19] *Cf.* the sacrifice of horses to Poseidon in a fresh water spring. Paus., VIII, 7, 2: ἔστι δὲ ἡ Δίνη κατὰ τὸ Γενέθλιον καλούμενον τῆς Ἀργολίδος, ὕδωρ γλυκὺ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀνερχόμενον. τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ καθίεσαν ἐς τὴν Δίνην τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἵππους οἱ Ἀργεῖοι κεκοσμημένους χαλινοῖς.

[20] Paus., VIII, 25, 4, and 42, 4.

Demeter was once transformed into a mare to escape the pursuit of Poseidon, who then transformed himself into a stallion.[21]

The quest for illustrations of Vergil's meaning has led us far afield; the somber black Demeter with the horse's head; Poseidon the creator of the horse, in his rôle of god of the stream and spring, the quickener of the crops; the Spartan sacrificing a horse to the fructifying winds; the Romans maintaining with all the tenacity of religious conservatism the annual sacrifice of a horse in thanksgiving for the harvest, though the true meaning was known only to the antiquary; all these supply the background of religious feeling for the understanding of the

signum, quod regia Iuno
Monstrarat, caput acris equi; sic nam fore bello
Egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem.[22]

[21] I am indebted to my colleague, Professor Hopkins, for the suggestion that Indic religion provides interesting parallels to the use of the horse as a sacrifice, both for victory in war, and for fertility of the fields: *Çatapatha-Brâhmana,* XIII, 1, 9 (Eggeling's translation): " 'The victorious warrior': on the Râganya he thereby bestows the grandeur of victoriousness, whence of old the Râganya was born as one victorious. . . . 'May our fruit-bearing plants ripen!'—then the fruit-bearing plants indeed ripen where they perform this sacrifice" (*i.e.,* of a horse). *Ibid.,* XIII, 3, 7: "Verily this is the sacrifice called Food-abounding: wherever they worship with this sacrifice, everything indeed becomes abounding in food."

The presence of similar sacrificial customs in Italy, Greece, and India is a strong indication that the use of the horse sacrifice to secure fertility of the fields is a primitive Indo-European rite.

[22] This article was in the hands of the printer when Professor McCartney's paper appeared in the *Classical Journal* for June, 1927. I heartily concur with his view that it is the *head* which signifies preëminence. That leaves to be explained, however, the connection between the horse and *fertility.* For the interpretation of this point he relies on much the same evidence as is here presented. But as I have treated this part from a slightly different angle, it has seemed best to leave the article unchanged, in spite of the obvious repetition of Professor McCartney's material.

THE EPIC OF ASINIUS POLLIO

BY CLARENCE W. MENDELL

THE EPIC OF ASINIUS POLLIO

VERGIL'S lines, *Eclogue,* III, 86, 7, disturbed Burmann. They are:

> Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina, pascite taurum
> Iam cornu petat et pedibus qui spargat harenam.

Servius had commented on *nova carmina,* explaining the *nova* as meaning *magna* or *miranda.* Burmann, quoting Acro (on Horace, *Epist.,* I, 3, 5), pointed out that the bull was the proper prize for epic poetry. (It might be noted in passing that *carmina* has a very wide range of meaning, but is least commonly applied to dramatic poetry. Servius felt this difficulty in *Ecl.* VIII, 10, and interpreted *tua carmina* there, not as Pollio's tragedies, but as *tuae laudes.*) Burmann believed that the lines in question *should* refer to epic poetry and so regretted that they were applied to Pollio. It is perhaps not impossible that his intuition was correct and that Pollio *did* write an epic poem, of which the only extant fragment is the *Veneris antistita Cuprus* of Charisius.[1]

When Cremutius Cordus was tried for treason under Tiberius (Tac., *Ann.,* IV, 34) he said in his own defense that Pollio had in his writings given an excellent character to Brutus and Cassius. The historical Pollio was certainly for many years a faithful follower of Julius Caesar and of Antony. His services to Julius are well known and extensive. Velleius Paterculus bears strong testimony to his attachment to Antony after the defeat of Cassius and Brutus (II, 63, 76). When it was dubious whether Antony or Octavian was the true successor to Julius, Pollio remained neutral to leave himself at the mercy of the victor (*et ero praeda victoris,* Vell. Pat., II, 86). This decision marks the great turning point in his life: from then on he becomes a man of literary occupations rather than practical.

Vergil's mention of *nova carmina* in the third *Eclogue* was made at least before 40 B.C. (as shown by Conington) and by 35 B.C. Horace speaks of Pollio as the recognized leader in dramatic poetry. This would of course fit nicely with the interpretation of *nova carmina* as tragedies. If Horace (*Od.,* II, 1) refers to the *Histories* they would have been begun a decade later and may

[1] Keil, *Gr. Lat.,* I, 100, 24. Possibly *Venerisque antistita Cupra* (or *Cupros*).

have been continued down to the event in 12 B.C., quoted by Priscian (VIII, 19).

Now there are certain inconsistencies in our accounts of Asinius that are worth considering. First of all, Seneca is at great pains to defend Cicero against the judgment of Pollio. He says that Pollio in his published speech in defense of Lamia stated that Cicero was ready to recant his accusations against Antony and to write on the other side. This charge, however, Pollio did not make in the speech as he delivered it nor did he put it in his *Histories*. Furthermore Seneca says that Pollio wrote an unfriendly account of Cicero's death, whereas the eulogy which Seneca quotes from the *Histories* is, as Seneca himself admits, generous and, on the whole, favorable.

In the second place, we know that Asinius went to Caesar in Gaul in 50 B.C., crossed the Rubicon with him, and was looked upon as one of his intimates at the time. Under Curio he was sent to Sicily to drive out Marcus Cato.[2] Thence he crossed to Africa. When Curio was beaten and killed, Pollio returned to Caesar. He was present at Pharsalia, was tribune in 47, and later fought under Caesar in Africa. After being praetor in 45, he went to Spain, where he nearly lost his life about the time of Caesar's assassination. In spite of this apparent prominence among the supporters of Caesar, he is never once mentioned by the great dictator.

Again, it is customary to find the behavior of Pollio inconsistent during the trying years between the Rubicon and Actium. He writes rather bitterly to Cicero about Antony, but joins him later, only to remain neutral in the final struggle between Antony and Octavian.

This last "inconsistency" I find it hard to accept. Tyrrell and Purser are particularly severe critics of Pollio and they are authorities not lightly to be contradicted. But Pollio's position would seem to have been something like this. He frankly admits[3] that he often bemoaned the beginning of civil war, that he chose sides without enthusiasm, largely because he had more enemies in the camp of Pompey than in that of Caesar, and that he acted throughout with considerable reserve. Liberty, he insists, was his only real desire—liberty and the peace which he conceives as one with liberty. Caesar, however, personally he loved with devotion and faith,[4] maintaining at the same time that one-man

[2] Plutarch, *Caesar*, p. 32.
[3] Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, X, 31.
[4] *Pietate et fide.*

power was intolerable. After the death of Caesar, marooned as he was in Spain, he knew little of what was going on and plead with the Senate for instructions that never came clearly. When he finally did return to Rome and found the two triumvirs divided, it must have been far from clear to him that Octavian was the truer representative of his own beliefs. Antony was the apparent heir to Caesar's plans. In reality he represented the monarchical side of Caesar only, but this had not been demonstrated. Still longing for peace, Pollio served Antony in a peaceful rôle and in 40 engineered the conference of reconciliation at Brundisium. When the final break came he could see little hope of liberty on either side and took the greatest risk of all, that of remaining neutral. He had been in practical retirement since 39.

With regard to Pollio's attitude toward Cicero a further word may not be out of place. It is perfectly true that the letters from Spain show a very friendly spirit. Pollio goes so far as to say that if ever peace returns he will never leave the side of Cicero. But no such future was in store. Pollio did not start from Spain until July of 43 and it is doubtful whether he ever rejoined Cicero, who was put to death five months (almost to the day) after Pollio left Corduba. In this first brief struggle between Antony and Octavian, Pollio was on the side of Antony, Cicero on that of Octavian. After the reconciliation he was apparently not considered so venomous as to deserve the fate of the great orator. Cicero had not only attacked with what to Pollio must have seemed unjustifiable bitterness his personal friend Antony, but would undoubtedly have joined Brutus and Cassius could he have done so. Livy is authority for the statement that he actually set sail. Pollio was at least nominally, if half-heartedly, with the triumvirs.

Various elements would seem to have entered into Pollio's final judgment of Cicero. As stylists the two men were in sharp contrast. The younger man is constantly presented as the antithesis of the older. To him the style of Cicero was not only florid: it smacked of insincerity. His conviction was confirmed by the fact, which he cites, that Cicero was ready to retract his speeches against Antony and to write for him. It is not improbable that Pollio saw the inherent weakness of Cicero and his tendency to let words take the place of reality and that this quality awoke in a man so blunt and severe as Pollio a growing resentment.

This blunt, somewhat Catonian, quality of Pollio is amply testified to by Seneca and Quintilian and Tacitus. *Ferocia* was char-

acteristic of him and he was *contumax natura;* he appeared to be of an earlier generation than Cicero. On the other hand, he was, like the older man, devoted to literature and ill adapted to the active life of civil war, and this may easily have led him to some extremes of statement and some inconsistencies of action. He seems, however, in his mature judgments to have at least attempted rigid if caustic fairness. In his *Histories* he does not include the story of Cicero's willingness to change sides. He did, however, it seems, describe Cicero's final vacillation and his "encomium" is distinctly tempered. Could the earlier acrimonious comment have been one of his caustic witticisms which, in the objective fairness of the *Histories,* found no place?

The same lack of hot partisanship was perhaps behind the fact that he spoke well of Brutus and Cassius. His whole point of view was sincerely republican: so much is clear from his letters to Cicero, and there is some indication that this position was rather strengthened by time. When Timagenes, a minor historian, attacked the family of Augustus, the emperor renounced his friendship, but Pollio continued to have Timagenes live in his house. When Augustus protested in a friendly way with Pollio for having a dinner soon after the death of Gaius Caesar, Pollio answered somewhat brusquely that he had done the same on the day of his own son's death.

Some light is thrown on this growing republican attitude of Pollio and also on the earlier relation of Julius Caesar with the critic by a statement in Suetonius[5] that Pollio considered (*putat:* it was evidently a written criticism) that Caesar's commentaries were unfair in that they gave scant credit to the deeds of other men and distorted somewhat those of himself and that he believed that Caesar would have rewritten and corrected them. (This does not appear out of character when we read Pollio's opinion in the letters to Cicero that the republic would have gained much by giving him more to do.)

Pollio's literary activity was distinctly varied. He recited many of his speeches to his friends whom he invited in to hear them, establishing the custom of such recitations. He never, however, admitted the public, and he was said to be less successful in declamation than in court delivery. He wrote tragedies which Horace ranked as the highest achievement of his day in that line. His history of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey is said

[5] Suetonius, *Julius Caesar,* 56.

by Suidas to have been in seventeen books. Valerius Maximus quotes from the third. It certainly included Cicero's death. It was said by the elder Seneca not to be rhetorical. It did, however, contain verse quotations and some verse rhythms in the prose text. Furthermore, Pollio wrote certain philosophic works highly commended by the younger Seneca. Judging from the other evidence, these must have belonged to the Stoic school of literature. Perhaps he wrote also a work on grammar which embraced his many caustic criticisms, but there is no sure evidence of this. He did, however, write erotic poetry which Pliny read and, finally, he wrote *nova carmina,* whatever Vergil meant by that phrase.

The use of the word *carmen* in Vergil and in Latin literature in general is interesting. Servius[6] would have us believe that anything composed in feet was a *carmen.* But we know that decrees, formulas, and charms in prose were often called *carmina* and there seems to be at least a reasonable doubt as to whether drama was included or iambic poetry in general. Hymns, didactic poems, oracles, marriage songs, banquet songs, bucolic poetry, epigrams, and epic were certainly embraced by the term. Satire is not very well attested as a *carmen,* in spite of Horace's use of the term for the writing of Lucilius, for he himself resigns as a satirist the name of poet and doubts whether even comedy can be called poetry. The point of interest at present, however, is the application of the name to tragedy.

There are some sixteen instances in which the word *carmen* is generally thought to apply to a tragedy, not including the two references to Pollio's writings in the *Eclogues.* The grammarian Diomedes[7] can be disregarded, because he is considering meter only, as is shown by the statement that there are four *species carminum,* catalectic, acatalectic, etc. The instances from Tacitus[8] also prove worthless as they refer to recitation on the stage, not to plays. So too Livy (7, 2, 2, *Sine carmine ullo, sine imitandorum carminum actu ludiones, ex Etruria acciti,* etc.) refers to singing not to plays. Horace in the *Ars Poetica,* 22, seems to refer to the earlier songs from which tragedy developed, and Manilius[9] employs the word in a summary sense, although he has just used tragedy as an example of the introduction of monstrosities. Much the same use appears in Juvenal.[10] He cites a supposed objection

6 Servius, *Ad Aen.,* III, 287.
7 "Diomedes," Keil, I, 502, 13.
8 *Ann.,* XI, 13; XIV, 20; XVI, 4.
9 V, 468.
10 VI, 636.

to what he is saying, namely, that he is drawing on imaginative material: *grande sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu.* The reference is clearly not to a play as a piece of literature, but to the style or character of certain parts of tragedy.

To such parts, or rather to special passages, from tragedies, the word *carmen* was undoubtedly applied and such are most of the instances usually considered to refer to tragedy. Seneca's *Epistle* 115 illustrates this well. It is on wealth, especially gold. The writer states that the *carmina poetarum* have incited to wealth-getting, and he quotes Ovid, adding *nec apud Graecos tragicos desunt qui lucro,* etc. Five lines from Euripides follow, and Seneca remarks that when these were first produced on the stage the audience arose in a body to eject *et actorem et carmen.* Euripides bade them wait to see the end and Seneca explains, *dabat in illa fabula poenas Bellerophontes.* Obviously *fabula* is the play, *carmen* the particular elevated speech within the play.

In Apuleius[11] we have the account of the trial of Sophocles in which he read to the judges the *Oedipus Coloneus* and asked them *si carmina senis displicerent.* This is hardly the play, or if it is, it is expressed in terms of its parts. The Apuleius passage throws light on the *De Senectute* account[12] of the same incident. Cicero says that Sophocles recited the *fabulam* and asked the judges *num illud carmen desipientis videretur.* Of course Cicero seeks for variety, he will not use *fabula* twice, but it seems not impossible that what Sophocles read was selections. Even if the aged poet could have read 1,779 lines to the court, the court could hardly have listened patiently. Furthermore, the play was not completed, it was still *in manibus.*

A passage of the same play is referred to by Cicero in the *De Finibus*[13] as *mollissimum carmen,* a phrase which could scarcely be applied to the whole play, and again a single passage of six lines from Euripides is spoken of as a *carmen.* In his speech for Caelius, Cicero quotes from the prologue to the *Medea* where the case is not so clear: *ac longius quidem mihi contexere hoc carmen liceret.* Curtius Rufus is obviously not referring to a whole play when he says[14] *Euripides rettulit carmen* of the drunken Clitus, and the Lucilian line:[15]

Rausuro tragicus qui carmina perdit Oreste,

[11] *Apologia,* 37.
[12] 32.
[13] 5, 3.
[14] VIII, 1, 28.
[15] 567.

while it has yet to be satisfactorily explained, certainly seems to apply to *speeches* of Orestes. I am inclined to give a similar interpretation to Horace, *Epist.*, II, 1, 185:

> Si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt
> Aut ursum aut pugiles: his nam plebecula gaudet,

though it is a bit less certain with the complaints of Terence in mind. The other instance from Horace, *Ars Poetica,* 90, is clearly, I believe, with reference to the style of a particular passage:

> Indignatur item privatis ac prope socco
> Dignis carminibus narrari cena Thyestae.

This leaves Livy, VII, 2, 8, which refers to Livius Andronicus as *suorum carminum actor* and which evidently refers to the plays.

Vergil uses *carmen* a few times in the Aeneid, always of incantations and hymns and epic poetry. In the *Eclogues* the word occurs more frequently, ten times in a repeated refrain, referring to a charm, thirty-four times in reference to bucolic poems and similar songs and to charms, and twice besides. One of these two instances is the *nova carmina* under discussion. The other is *Ecl.*, VIII, 10:

> En erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem
> Sola Sophoclea tua carmina digna coturno?

As has been pointed out by Heyne, it is a doubtful compliment to Pollio to say that Vergil hopes to advertise his tragedies. Also it is a curious expression if he is really saying that Pollio's plays are worthy of the buskin of Sophocles. Servius took the phrase to mean *tuae laudes,* which gives it a more rational sense and is interesting in view of the glossary definition of *carmen: cantus, laus, canticum quod poeta composuit, poema.* The deeds of Pollio can more properly be said to be worthy of the tragic style of Sophocles than can his own works.

In view, then, of the general use of the word which is applied to a play as a whole only by Livy and possibly once by Horace, and of Vergil's own practice, it is more natural to take *nova carmina* as something other than tragedies.

It is now necessary to get an approximate picture of the character of Pollio, especially as it affected his relations with Augustus and the imperial party. The chief characteristic which has always been stressed is that of a caustic critic. There can be no doubt that he was this, and, moreover, the quality of bitter hostility seems to

have extended to his activities other than literary. Seneca[16] speaks of him as *contumax,* which is entirely in harmony with the phrase of Tacitus,[17] *Asinii ferociam.* This latter is used in connection with the unfortunate break of Asinius Gallus, Pollio's son, at the time of Tiberius's accession. Tiberius resented his remarks and feared that he showed the *ferocia* of his father. This is a term which Tacitus uses of various intransigents, Agrippina, the two Pisos, Suillius, Vestinus, and Domitian. Otherwise he regularly applies it to soldiers or barbarians, sometimes in censure, but not infrequently in praise. It is borne out by several incidents that are told of Pollio. When Octavian wished him to join himself against Antony he told the future emperor that he had done too much for Antony and Antony had shown him too many favors, that he would remain to be the prey of the victor.[18] After two young men had been injured in the *lusus Troiae,* revived by Augustus, one of them a grandson of Pollio, the latter spoke so bitterly in the Senate that Augustus discontinued the games.[19] Seneca gives[20] at considerable length the tale of the historian Timagenes, who attacked members of Augustus's family and continued to do so after warning. The emperor forbade him his house, but Pollio continued to have the offender live with him. As Seneca tells the story, Pollio, when rallied by Augustus, was ready to dismiss Timagenes, but there seems to lurk some irony in the words of Augustus. First he said impatiently, "*Fruere, mi Pollio, fruere,*" and when Pollio, perhaps with ironical emphasis on one word, said, "If you *order* me, Caesar, I will refuse him my house," the answer was, "Do you think I will do that when I have reconciled you two?" For, says Seneca, Pollio had long been angry with Timagenes and only changed when Caesar became offended with him too.

The family seems to have been always republican, or at least against the house of Caesar, with the exception of the years which Pollio spent with Julius, and we have seen how emphatic he was in explaining to Cicero that he was not for Caesar as an absolutist, but was always for the "Senate," which means the Republic. His son and grandson both refused to defend Piso from the charge of murdering Germanicus, and the son, "who employed the frank speech of the old days more than was good for him,"[21] was perse-

[16] *Controv.,* IV, Praef. 4.
[17] *Ann.,* I, 12.
[18] Velleius Paterculus, II, 86, 3.
[19] Suetonius, *Augustus,* 43.
[20] *De Ira,* III, 23.
[21] Dio Cassius, LVII, 2, 5.

cuted and finally killed by Tiberius. Even friendship with him was fatal to at least one other man.[22] Pollio's grandson was chief of a conspiracy against Claudius.[23] We have already seen how Pollio himself was rebuked by Augustus for not showing proper respect at the time of young Gaius's death and how *he* used the frank speech of old days in his answer. It is perhaps significant that the temple which he restored and in which he established the first public library was the *atrium Libertatis*.[24] In word and act—for example, in his spectacular departure from the house of Messalla Corvinus when Sextilius Ena implied that the ability to speak had died with Cicero[25]—Pollio seems to have played the part of a somewhat more urbane Cato, the very man to have thought ever more highly of Brutus and Cassius. In the new régime of Augustus he played only the rôle of literary patron and critic, never that of an imperial official.

The most important piece of ancient evidence relating to Asinius Pollio is the first ode of Horace's second book. It is addressed to the patron of literature to whom Horace had already awarded the palm in tragedy. He has, according to the ode, begun to write the *motum civicum* that had its origin in the consulship of Metellus, is in fact in the midst of the undertaking (*tractas* and *ubi ordinaris*). The ode is written certainly after 39 B.C., for Pollio's Delmatic triumph of that year is mentioned, and before 23 B.C. when the first three books were published. The tone of the ode which has none of Horace's optimistic faith in the régime of Augustus would argue a date early rather than late in this period: when he wrote the second poem of Book I, Horace foresaw that Augustus may have been sent from heaven to redeem the *arma nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus*. It would seem that Pollio, soon after his retirement had begun writing this "Civil War" and had perhaps read some of it in Horace's hearing.

It is perfectly clear that Horace in his ode is following to a certain degree what Pollio has written and this seems to have been in a distinctly elevated style that fits far from well with the accounts of Pollio's prose which was *durus* and *siccus*,[26] imitated by the *tristes et ieiuni*, entirely lacking in the *nitor* and *iucunditas* of

22 Seneca, *Epist.*, 55, 3.
23 Suetonius, *Claudius*, 13.
24 Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29.
25 Seneca, *Suas.*, 6, 27.
26 Tacitus, *Dial.*, 21.

Cicero.[27] Horace's poem suggests a highly rhetorical treatment with a distinctly republican bias. Hence the *periculosae plenum opus aleae*. Pollio, we know, was more florid in recitation than in public practice. He was the first Roman to invite men in to listen to his *scripta*, but the public was excluded, no doubt wisely, for he was treading on the thin crust of hot volcanic ash.

Assuming for the moment that Pollio, after retiring from active public life in 39 B.C. and still cherishing the sentiments of republicanism which he expressed to Cicero, estranged from Antony by the latter's *maledicta*,[28] yet not won over to Octavian, undertook to write an epic of the civil war, would the poem of Horace apply to such work? Obviously it would not have been an objective epic of the Homeric or Vergilian type: the *causae belli* and the *vitia* that were involved in civil strife formed a distinct part of it. It was dangerous because of the continuing partisanship which would look for favorable or hostile implications. Not only would the civil strife be pictured as impious, but Cato rather than Caesar would be the character sympathized with and the subjection of the world to one man would be presented as a calamity, the revenge of Africa on Rome. The disastrous play of fortune would be the keynote.

It is impossible in forming such a tentative picture not to think of Lucan and his *Pharsalia*. Fortune and fate are the ruling forces of that poem, in Lucan's own phrase, the *alea fati*.[29] If Pollio, or someone else whose work is lost, did not set the model, Lucan's is the first Roman epic of the oratorical type written with the Stoic urge to point out *vitia* and *virtutes*. To him the *causae belli* are of first importance and are detailed at length in the opening of the epic, and they are just those causes which Horace suggests, including the fatal friendship of the triumvirs, the sport of fate, and the madness of the impulse to civil strife. He, too, emphasizes the wreckage done by the war, the Latin blood shed far and wide, and the ruin of Italy, using the name Hesperia. He employs the words *expromere causas* and follows them with the appositive expression, *immensum opus; invidiam Fortuna* occurs in line 84 of the introduction and while *graves* is not applied to the friendship of the triumvirs, it precedes by only a few lines the words, *tu causa malorum, facta tribus dominis communis, Roma*. To Lucan, as to Horace (and perhaps to Pollio), the Parthians are the

[27] Quintilian, X, 2, 17, and X, 1, 113.
[28] Keil, I, 80, 3.
[29] VI, 7.

Medes; Lucan uses *gurges* of the Nile[30] and *motus* of rebellion;[31] and in II, 713, has the line *tum primum rubuit civili sanguine Nereus.* These are all very insignificant minor points, but the figure of the Carthaginian spirits being sated with Roman blood[32] is strongly reminiscent of the suggestions of Horace, especially with the *umbra Crassus inulta* in Lucan's line 11. The use of *flumina* as perhaps typical of the work of Pollio reminds us of the fact that Lucan uses proportionately a good deal more than twice as many rivers as any other of the epic poets. Finally, Cato is the most lauded character of the *Pharsalia.*

It does not seem outside the range of possibility that Lucan, who was a very young and rhetorical poet when he began his *Pharsalia,* took as a type the poem of Pollio, either published and ignored because of the imperial success of the house of Caesar or simply recited and preserved among the members of the persistent opposition. This would account for the inevitable suggestion of something more than dry history in Horace's ode and for the fundamentally new type of epic which seems to arise full fledged in the *Pharsalia.* Incidentally it would satisfy the *nova carmina* of Vergil vastly better than any sort of tragedy could do.

Horace seems to have known epic poetry of the later type, unless indeed we are to believe that he had prophetic vision, for he describes it in *Epist.,* II, 1, 251:

> res componere gestas
> Terrarumque situs et flumina dicere et arces,

and in the *Ars Poetica* (16) he includes the use of river names among the purple patches of epic poetry.

Finally, it is to be noted that the one phase of the civil war which Horace emphasizes most is the African, on which he lingers for a stanza. This is precisely the part about which Pollio would know most and it is particularly interesting that, in his list of poets in his last letter from Pontus, Ovid cites a poet:

> Quique acies Libycas Romanaque proelia dixit.

This is regularly taken to refer to a poet of the Carthaginian War, but it need hardly do so. The poet is no longer living, which is right if Pollio be he. It is just possible that Ovid did not care to mention Pollio by name because in the latter's library in the

[30] VIII, 445.
[31] IX, 219.
[32] I, 39.

Atrium Libertatis Ovid's works found no place, as he tells us sadly himself:

> Nec mea quae doctis patuerunt prima libellis
> Atria Libertas tangere passa sua est.[33]

If Vergil's *nova carmina* does refer to a new type of epic, then Pollio must have begun it while Antony and Octavian were first becoming estranged. His well-attested *diligentia* would have led him to take much time in the composition and it is clear that Horace was not intimate with the group to which Maecenas and Pollio and Vergil belonged until after 38, so that there is no inconsistency in his late mention of the poem. A further negative consideration worth noting is that Varius, ranked by Horace, before the writing of the *Aeneid,* as the greatest contemporary writer of epic, is entirely lost. His lesser rival might have disappeared even more completely. That there is no inherent impossibility in the theory that one writer produced both a prose history and an epic, is indicated by the fact that Cicero, who wrote an epic, *De Consulatu Meo,* projected also a history of Rome.

The "verbatim" quotations of Caesar's words at various dramatic moments might well have found their place in the epic. If Pollio quoted the famous *esto alea jacta* in Latin, although Caesar quoted it properly from Menander in Greek, it is not strange that Plutarch failed to realize the Menandrean source.[34] And finally, there is less of a puzzle in the passage from Appian (II, 40) in which Pollio answers Cato in Sicily, when asked his authority for being there, in what may well be the bad translation of one of his own hexameters:

> ὁ τῆς Ἰταλίας κρατῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτά μ' ἔπεμψεν.

A curious coincidence comes to light in the twelfth chapter of Tacitus's *Annals,* Book I. Editors do not seem to have noted the fact that *plus quam civilia* at the end of that chapter must be a quotation from the first line of Lucan's *Pharsalia.* It is too striking a phrase to be explained otherwise. The curious coincidence is that it comes to the mind of Tacitus as he writes a line referring to Asinius Pollio.

It can hardly be said to be more than a possibility—that much it certainly is—that Pollio was one of those poets of the late first century interested in introducing new types into Roman litera-

[33] *Tristia,* III, 7.
[34] See *A.P.A. Proceedings,* XXXII, p. ci.

ture and that to him that literature owes the first rhetorical epic, as opposed to the natural. Furthermore, that Lucan consciously tried to outdo his predecessor. For there may readily be in the *bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos* a deliberate challenge to the *motum ex Metello consule civicum.*

INDIC SPEECH AND RELIGION IN WESTERN ASIA

BY E. H. STURTEVANT

INDIC SPEECH AND RELIGION IN WESTERN ASIA

AT Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, somewhat more than forty years ago, some peasants happened upon a part of the royal archives of Amenhotep IV, otherwise called Ihnaton. There were in the deposit some 350 clay tablets in cuneiform character, most of them in the Assyrian language. They contain correspondence of Ihnaton and his father with numerous Asiatic kings and princes. The discovery was full of surprises, and not the least of these was furnished by a number of Aryan names belonging to princes of Palestine and Syria. At one leap our contemporary records of Indo-European speech were carried back to the fourteenth century B.C.; and, stranger still, these records came from a region which no Indo-Europeans were thought to have penetrated before the sixth century. Scholars were baffled, and, as the evidence has accumulated, the problem has become ever more perplexing. There has been no lack of solutions—Eduard Meyer has three to his credit; but each one suggested has seemed less satisfactory than the last. The evidence, as it now lies before us, is as follows.

In the fourteenth century the most important state of northwestern Mesopotamia and Syria was Mitanni, which lay between the Tigris and Euphrates in the region where they are farthest apart. The eastern neighbor of Mitanni was Assyria, which for a time paid it tribute. The Amarna letters tell of varying diplomatic relations between Mitanni and Egypt, and the Hittite archives at Boghazkeui have yielded several copies of a treaty between Mitanni and the Hittite king Šuppiluliumaš.[1] We learn from the historical preamble of this treaty that the Mitannian state grew out of and partially supplanted a state called Hurri, and it has recently been shown[2] that the Hurrian nation was of much greater extent than Mitanni.

One of the Amarna letters is written in the language of Mitanni, and there are in the Hittite texts a number of passages in the same language. These passages are, however, labeled in the texts

[1] The case-ending *š* is omitted from this and other Hittite names in Accadian texts and even in Accadian passages of Hittite texts.

[2] See Chiera and Speiser, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, VI, 75-90 (1926), and references.

themselves as Hurrian, and therefore, as Chiera and Speiser (*op. cit.*, p. 80) point out, we should call the language Hurrian rather than Mitannian. Some progress has been made in its interpretation, and we can say quite positively that it is neither Semitic nor Indo-European.

We know the names of many private citizens of Mitanni, and they are as unfamiliar as the language itself; but several members of the royal family bear names that appear to be Aryan. The king who corresponded with Ihnaton was named *Dušratta*[3] (Sanskrit *duṣ-ratha,* "having poor chariots"). He had a wife named *Iuni* (Skt. *yūnī,* "young woman"), and his son, who made the treaty with Šuppiluliumaš, was *Mattiwaza* (Skt. *mati-vāca,* "uttering worship"). Three members of the same family, who ruled over the Hurri, were called *Artatama* (Skt. *ṛtatama,* "most righteous"), *Šuttarna* (Skt. *su-tarṇa,* "helping well"), and *Artašuwara* (Skt. *ṛta-suvar,* "sun of right").

Several of the petty princes who, as vassals of the Egyptian king, ruled the cities of Palestine and Syria during the fourteenth century bore names which may more or less certainly be traced to an Aryan source. The clearest are these: *Artamanya* (Skt. *ṛtamanya,* "respecting right"), *Biridašwa* (Skt. *bṛhad-açva,* "having great horses"), *Biridiya* (*cf. bṛhad-diva,* "belonging to high heaven"), *Etakkama, Aitugama, Itatkama* (*cf.* Skt. words in *-kāma* and *-gama*), *Indaruta* (Skt. *Indrota,* "loved by Indra"), *Ruṣmanya* (*cf.* Skt. *ruci-manya,* "esteeming splendor"), *Šatiya* (Skt. *satya,* "true"), *Šubandi, Šubandu* (Skt. *su-bandhu,* "having good friends"), *Surata, Zurata, Šarātum* (Skt. *su-ratha,* "having good chariots"), *Šutatna* (*cf.* Skt. *su-daṇḍa,* "having good clubs"), *Šuwardatta* (Skt. *suvar-datta,* "given by the sun"), *Yašdata* (*cf.* Skt. *yajña-datta,* "gift of sacrifice"; *yaj* is synonymous with *yajña*). Quite recently there has been discovered at Shechem in Palestine a cuneiform letter addressed to a person named *Biraššena.*[4] Is this Skt. *bṛhat-sena,* "having a

[3] For references to the letters where these names occur, see J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln,* II, 1555-1571 (*Eigennamenverzeichnisse* von Otto Weber). The names *Indaruta* and *Surata* (previously known as *Zurata* and, in one passage, as *Šarātum*) occur in letters subsequently published by Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d'Assyriologie,* XIX, 91 ff. (1922). Several of the suggested etymologies are mine, but most of them have been discussed in print many times. The etymology of *Indaruta* I owe to A. Jirku, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* Neue Folge, II, 74 (1925), and E. Sieg, as quoted by Jirku, *ib.*, p. 164.

[4] See Böhl, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* XLIX, 325 (1926).

great army," or is it possibly *Vīrasena,* the name which occurs in the first line of the *Nala?*

I must add that few of the above etymologies are quite certain; we know too little of the Syrian languages of the fourteenth century for that. But so many Sanskrit assonances cannot be accidental, particularly in view of the evidence which follows.

The treaty between Šuppiluliumaš and Mattiwaza closes with a list of gods who are to avenge violations of it. Near the end come these words: *ilāni*^{MEŠ} *Mitraššil, ilāni Arunaššil,* ^{D}*Indara, ilāni*^{MEŠ} *Našattiyanna.*[5] There is no doubt that we have here Vedic Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas. The first two names, *Mitraššil* and *Arunaššil,* contain a Hurrian comitative suffix,[6] so that we must probably translate "Mitra and his divine retinue," etc. The last name, *Našattiyanna,* contains the Hurrian plural suffix *na,* which here stands for the Skt. dual, since the Nāsatyas are the gods more familiarly known as the Açvins, the twin horsemen of heaven. We may therefore paraphrase the list: "Mitra and his divine retinue, Varuṇa and his divine retinue, Indra, and the Açvins." Precisely this list would be natural in a Vedic hymn, and in just this order. Although Mitra is far less important in the *Veda,* he is regularly named before his companion Varuṇa. Both gods are frequently, as here, accompanied by a retinue, known in the *Veda* as the Ādityas.

To the Aryan gods whose names occur in the Mitannian treaty and in personal names we must add the god *Agniš,* who, according to a Hittite omen-text,[7] "devours" something. (Hrozný thinks that he devours countries, but the tablet is too fragmentary to make that certain.) This is almost surely the Indic fire-god Agni.

A peculiarly striking Indic etymology has recently been demonstrated by Johannes Friedrich.[8] The capital city of Mitanni was called *Waššugganni,* which is Sanskrit *Vasugaṇī,* "having (*i.e.,* worshiping) the band of beneficent gods." The certainty and significance of this identification can be appreciated only if we remember that the *vasus* are a distinct class of Vedic gods, and that the word *gaṇa* is frequently used in the *Veda* of groups or

[5] Verso 41 of the version of Mattiwaza, Weidner, *Boghazköi-Studien,* VIII, 54. Compare verso 56 of Šuppiluliumaš's version, *ibid.,* 32.

[6] See Kretschmer, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* XXXIII, 2-3, and references.

[7] *Keilschrift-Urkunden aus Boghazköi,* 8. 28. 1. 16, 2. 7; see Hrozný, *Revue d'Assyriologie,* XVIII, 34-36 (1921).

[8] *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung,* II, 121 (1925).

classes of gods and is particularly common as final member of compounds. Of especial interest is the possessive suffix *in,* which regularly loses its final nasal in the nominative. Since *gaṇa* and *Varuṇa* (see below, pp. 220-221) contain cerebral *ṇ,* it may be necessary to revise the current opinion that the Indic cerebrals come from the Dravidian languages of India. It is well known that certain original consonant groups yielded cerebrals.

Another city of Mitanni is called *Pagarriti*[9] in a Hittite document and *Bagarri* in Assyrian. In view of the thorough confusion of voiced and voiceless stops in Hittite, we must follow the Assyrian evidence as to the character of the initial consonant. The end of the word, on the other hand, is better preserved in Hittite. *Bagarriti,* then, is Sanskrit *bhaga-rīti,* "river of good fortune." The town was situated on the river Habur, and the name may originally have applied to the river.

Kretschmer[10] has just recently suggested a connection between the name of the Βαγαδάονες of southern Cappadocia and Skt. *Bhagadā,* the name of a woman in the retinue of the god Skanda. The suffix αϝων in geographical names of Asia Minor has a religious connotation, and so Kretschmer suggests that *Bhagadā* was originally a goddess. A near relative, if not the same person, appears in an inscription of Sargon as Bagbartum (*i.e.,* **Bhāgabhara*), a goddess of Subartu.

The traces of Aryan speech in the Mitanni region are not limited to the names of places, men, and gods. There was discovered in the royal library at Boghazkeui a treatise on the training and care of race horses. It is written in Hittite with the usual admixture of Accadian, but its author is given as Kikkuli of Mitanni.[11] The treatise contains technical terms which are indubitably Aryan. The first to be recognized were a series of compounds whose prior members are the five odd numerals *aika-* (*eka*), *tera-* (*traya*), *panza-* (*panca*), *šatta-* (*sapta*), and *na-* (*nava*), which last is obviously due to haplology in the compound. These numerals are combined with *wartanna,* which is Sanskrit *vartana,* "turn," here "turn <about the stadium>, lap"; so

[9] For the form of the name and the site of the town, see Forrer, *Forschungen,* II, 34[1] (1926).

[10] *Kleinasiatische Forschungen,* I, 6-7.

[11] The four tablets containing this treatise have been published in cuneiform characters in *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi,* 3. 2, 5, and KUB. 1. 11, 13, 2. 12. A description of the work with illustrative passages in transliteration and translation has been published by Forrer in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Neue Folge, I, 252-269.

that *aika-wartanna* means "one lap," etc. Particularly noteworthy is a phrase containing one of these compounds in the locative case followed by the genitive of the word for stadium, *nawartanni wašanašaya* is a good representation of Sanskrit *navavartane vasanasya,* "in nine laps of the stadium." In our Sanskrit texts, to be sure, *vasana* occurs only as an abstract noun, meaning "a tarrying, a dwelling"; but it must have meant also "dwelling, village, camp." Since the earliest race course lay around the outside of the stockaded camp or village, the same word continued to be used of the stockade which in Kikkuli's time was erected for the specific purpose of marking out a track. There are several other technical terms of the same sort, but so far they have not been interpreted or traced to their Aryan source.

In addition we shall some day probably discover Aryan loan-words in the Hittite documents. In fact it has been suggested that *yugan,* "yoke,"[12] is Sanskrit *yugam,* since Hittite neuter *a*-stems seem not to show a final nasal; but there is too much doubt about the inflection of the latter[13] for us to be sure that *yugan* was not inherited. Similarly *tapaššaš,* "fever, plague"(?) has been traced to Sanskrit *tapas,*[14] on account of the vowel of the first syllable (*cf.* Latin *tepor*). The oblique wedges which stand before *tapaššaš* in the text may indicate a foreign word, but not necessarily.

So far the clearest proof of an Aryan loan-word in Hittite is furnished by the place name *Wartanna,* which survives as the modern *Vartan.* Forrer[15] is surely right in tracing this to an ancient race course, and so we must conclude that Sanskrit *vartana* was in familiar use among the Hittites in the technical sense in which it has been recorded by Kikkuli.

The first impulse of scholars was of course to call this Aryan material Iranian, since Iran is so much nearer than India; but it is now clear that we are dealing with specifically Indic speech and religion. Varuṇa is one of the most important of the Vedic gods, but his name does not occur in the *Avesta* or in any other Iranian source. The Iranian form of the name *Nāsatya,* namely, *Naŋhaiθya,* occurs only twice in the *Avesta* and in the singular number. The person so designated is, like the Zoroastrian Indra,

[12] Götze, *Indogermanische Forschungen,* XLII, 327 f. (1924).

[13] See Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in Hethitischer Sprache,* I, 176 f., n. 3 (1926).

[14] Sommer and Ehelolf, *Das Hethitische Ritual des Pāpanikri von Komana,* 13 f., n. 1 (1924). *Cf.* Hrozný, *BoSt.,* III, 30 (1919).

[15] *Forschungen,* I, 44 (1926).

a daeva or devil. It follows, of course, that the worship of the Nāsatyas once existed among the Iranians; but there is nothing to indicate that it was ever as important there as in Vedic India. While *vaŋhu-* or *vohu-*, the Avestan form of *vasu*, is a word of great religious importance in the *Avesta* and is a standing epithet of one of the Aməšaspentas, or Zoroastrian archangels, there is no trace of a class of deities with such a name. The word *gaṇa*, "troupe, band, class," which is combined with *vasu* in the name *Waššuggani*, does not occur in our Iranian sources. The numeral *aika* (Sanskrit *eka*), "one," is specifically Indic, the corresponding Iranian word being *aiva*. The personal name *Biridašwa* must be connected with Sanskrit *açva*, and not with Iranian *aspa*, "horse."

Furthermore all known Iranian languages change antevocalic *s* to *h*, and it is therefore extremely probable that this was a feature of primitive Iranian. In view of the linguistic differences between the Avestan and the Old Persian of the early fifth century, and of the wide dispersion of Iranian peoples at the dawn of history, the primitive Iranian period was probably much earlier than the fourteenth century. Consequently words with antevocalic *s* are to be considered Indic rather than Iranian. We have found the following: *Nāsatya, sapta, satya, su-, suvar, vasu, vasana.*

While admitting the cogency of the evidence for Indic speech in Mitanni and Syria, Eduard Meyer,[16] with Kretschmer's[16] approval, thinks there were Iranians there too, on account of the proper names *Artatama, Artašuwara,* and *Artamanya.* They feel that the cuneiform sign AR cannot represent the syllabic liquid of Skt. *ṛta;* but surely no better way of writing the sound was available. Furthermore the same problem has to be faced if the

[16] Meyer, *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,* 1925, p. 252; Kretschmer, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* XXXIII, 1-22 (1926). The latter article formed the starting point of my study, and I refer to it for further bibliography as well as for many important conclusions which I have not repeated. Hillebrandt's criticism of Kretschmer (*ZDMG.*, LXXXI, 74-77) did not appear until after my article had been completed. Part of his strictures coincide with my point of view; the others do not seem convincing. I have not seen the article by Hüsing ("Die Inder von Boghazköi," *Prace Lingwistyczne Ofiarowane Janowi Baudouinowi de Courtenay,* Krakau, 1921), to which Hillebrandt refers (*ib.*, p. 58). Kretschmer's article in *Kuhns Zeitschrift,* LV, 75-103 and Wüst's article in *WZKM,* XXXIV, 165-215 reached me after these pages were in type. The former is of extraordinary interest, but less convincing than its predecessor. Wüst's conclusions involve chronological impossibilities.

names in question were originally Iranian. Meillet[17] has shown that Old Persian retained syllabic *ṛ* in the fifth and fourth centuries, and that our habitual writing of *ar* in Persian words which have *ṛ* in Sanskrit is due to a misinterpretation of the cuneiform sign. Greek transliterations such as Ἀρτάβαζος and Ἀρταφέρνης prove nothing, since the Greek alphabet cannot represent a syllabic *ṛ* any more readily than the cuneiform syllabary.

It must be admitted that the word *ṛta* is far more familiar in Iranian than in Indian personal names. I find only six words beginning in *ṛta* listed as names of mortal men in the St. Petersburg lexicons. One of these is a modern transliteration of a Graeco-Iranian name; the other five are: *Ṛtadhvaja, Ṛtaparṇa, Ṛtabodha, Ṛtavīrya,* and *Ṛtāyuṣ*. Such compounds are frequent as epithets of gods, and several occur as names of supernatural beings; there is a *Yakṣa* named *Ṛtajit,* a Vyāsa *Ṛtaṁjara,* a Manu *Ṛtadhāman,* a Gandharva *Ṛtasena.* It would seem that the word *ṛta* became in India too holy for common use in personal names; but the few instances that have been preserved indicate that it had formerly been so used. At any rate the word is fully as prominent in Indian religion as in Iranian, and there is consequently no difficulty in tracing the Syrian names in *Arta-* to an Indic source.

The only other evidence Meyer and Kretschmer adduce for the early presence of Iranians in western Asia consists of the names of two kings of Commagene, *Kundaspi* in the ninth century B.C., and *Kustaspi* in the eighth. Meyer (*op. cit.,* p. 253) says that these words show "überraschenderweise bereits den spezifisch iranischen Wandel des anlautenden *vi* zu *gu,* den wir sonst erst im Mittelpersischen kennen." That is, we are asked to recognize in documents some three hundred years older than our Old Persian records a phonetic change which does not otherwise appear until the Middle Persian of the Parthian and Sassanian kings. A gap of 800 years is not so easily bridged; it is far more likely that the two names in question are not Iranian at all.

At any rate they are evidence for a time 500 to 600 years later than the fourteenth century B.C. There is no proof that Iranians had penetrated the Tigris valley at the time we are studying, and it is unsound method to assume their presence there unnecessarily.

It is particularly important to establish the Indic provenience of the personal names in *Ṛta-,* since they tell us more about the character of the Indic religion of those days than we can learn

[17] *Grammaire du Vieux Perse,* 47-49.

from the occurrence of the names of Vedic gods; for it is conceivable that the ideas then connected with the familiar names were very different from those we meet in the later literature. The word *ṛta,* however, whose original meaning was "motion, course" or the like, could scarcely occur in personal names until it had progressed a considerable distance toward its religious meaning, "divine order of the world, natural law, right." Otherwise it would have been too colorless and unemotional for such a use. But it was still a highly abstract term, and interesting only for its ethical significance. We cannot avoid the conclusion that Indic religion already had the ethical and speculative tendency which reached its full development only in the later Vedic period.

In this connection it will be worth while to examine further Kikkuli's treatise on the care of horses. We noted that this work contains one clear instance of a Sanskrit phrase of locative and dependent genitive *navartanni wašanašaya,* "in nine laps of the stadium." Such a phrase in its Hittite surroundings indicates that the work is a translation from the Sanskrit.

Loan-words do not keep their original inflection unless the language from which they have been taken is both familiar to and highly respected by the speakers of the borrowing language. The Romans usually, in early times always, inflected Greek words as they would Latin. The Classical poets had a fancy for certain Greek forms such as *Capyn, Simoenta, Aeneades,* and a few grammarians wrote genitives like *Menandru* and *Apollodoru;* but such a practice was possible only because all educated Romans knew and admired Greek literature. Unless we are ready to assume a similar familiarity with Sanskrit among the Hittites, we must conclude that the treatise on horsemanship is a translation from the Sanskrit. The same conclusion follows from the curious way in which the technical terms are supplied with a gloss:[18]

"Next morning early they harness them, and he drives them 2 KAS.BU, 20 GAN; speeds them, however, for *teravartanna,* ½ KAS.BU. However, 'three laps' <is what> they call it."

Now such a treatise as this finds its place in Indic more readily than in any other ancient literature. It is one division of the huge subject known as *arthaçāstra,* the systematic treatment of the various trades and occupations, the body of rules for the attainment of all material purposes; that is, approximately what we know as applied science plus every kind of business training. How fully the Indian scholars ever covered this field is not known, but

[18] *KBo.* 3. 2. 2. 64-66; see Forrer, *ZDMG.,* LXXVI, 255.

its possibilities are suggested by a passage in the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata*.[19] We are told that Brahman, the creator, composed 100,000 books treating law and the art of love as well as the other branches of applied science. In view of the brevity of human life, Çiva abridged this complete work and reduced its compass to 10,000 books. Indra succeeded in compressing these into 5,000 books. Bāhudantaka reduced the number to 3,000, and Kāvya to 1,000; which is the number of books one must master to secure an all around education.

Then as now, however, one usually learned only so much as he needed for his own profession. And so the earliest known arthaçāstra, aside from Kikkuli's treatise, is a textbook for kings in fifteen books, known as the *Arthaçāstra* of Kauṭilya. It is as early as the third century A.D., and may be considerably earlier. The work is crammed with all sorts of information about ancient Indian life; but I will choose a very dull passage, in order to show how well Kikkuli's rules would fit into this setting. At the opening of the tenth book directions for laying out a camp begin as follows:[20]

"On a site approved by those who know about building sites, the commander, the builders, and the astrologers are to lay out the camp, round, oblong, rectangular, or according to the nature of the locality; with four gates, six streets, and nine divisions; equipped with ditches, ramparts, wall, gates, and turrets; for <time of> danger and continuous occupation. In the northern ninth of the central ninth should be the king's quarters, 100 bowlengths long and half as broad; in its western half should be the women's quarters, and at the further side of these the army of the guards of the harem. To the east the audience chamber is built, to the left the bureau of the treasury and accounts and to the right the stable for the elephants, horses, and chariots to be mounted by the king. . . ." And so on in equal detail.

Compare with this a typical passage from Kikkuli:[21]

"Next morning, however, they harness them again. He drives them two KAS.BU. When they <have> unharness<ed> them, they rest them <and> lead them to the <hitching> post, but do not give them water and fodder. However, when midday comes they eat one UP.NA of the daily grass tied <in a bundle>.

[19] *Cf.* Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, III, 507 f.

[20] *Cf.* J. J. Meyer, *Das Altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben*, p. 563 (Hanover, 1925-1927).

[21] *KBo.* 3. 5. 3. 11-18; *cf.* Forrer, *ZDMG.*, LXXVI, 256.

At evening he harnesses them and drives them one half KAS.BU or 20 GAN, and speeds them one half KAS.BU."

There is, of course, a huge gap between Kikkuli's date and the earliest possible date of the *Kauṭilyārthaçāstra;* no one would care to maintain a very close connection between them. Nevertheless the facts remain (1) that Kikkuli's treatise must have been translated from an early form of Sanskrit, (2) that Sanskrit is the one ancient literature which contains technical treatises of just this kind, and (3) that horse-racing was a favorite sport in India from Vedic times.

We have to do, then, with people of Indic race. How can we explain their presence in upper Mesopotamia in the fourteenth century B.C.? The correct answer, I think, has been given by Kretschmer (*op. cit.*). He starts from the identification of the name of the god Aruna in the Hittite-Mitanni treaty with the Hittite word *arunaš* "sea." They are identical in form except for the Hurrian sociative suffix which is appended to the god's name. Sanskrit *va* appears as *wa* (*i.e.*, the sign PI, which has the value *wa* in Babylonian—as distinguished from Assyrian—and in Hittite) in the names *Mattiwaza, Artašuwara, Šuwardatta, Waššuggani,* and in the technical terms *wartanna* and *wašana.* Clearly, therefore, *Aruna-* does not directly represent Sanskrit *Varuṇa.* It is true that in one version of the treaty the name is written *Uruwana-* instead of *Aruna-;* but this form is even more difficult than the other to derive directly from the Sanskrit.

There are many reasons in our Sanskrit sources for welcoming the new etymology. In the first place the old etymologies are all unsatisfactory. Hermann Güntert[22] shows that the familiar connection with Greek οὐρανός is impossible on account of the difference in the vowel of the second syllable. He finds that the same objection holds against any connection of the name with the root of Sanskrit *vṛṇoti,* "cover, hide," since its derivatives have only a long *ū,* while the I.-E. base *wer-, wrē-,* "speak," which has also been connected with *Varuṇa,* shows no derivatives with *u* either long or short. Güntert accepts Herbert Petersson's[23] derivation of the word from a base *wer-,* "bind," which appears in a number of Baltic and Slavic words. He is able to cite only one other possible derivative from the stem in Sanskrit, namely, *varatrā,* "thong, strap," which is usually derived from *vṛṇoti,* and which, in any case, does not show the desired vocalism of the second syllable. That certainly is not an attractive etymology.

[22] *Der Arische Weltkönig und Heiland,* p. 147 (1923).

[23] *Studier tillegnade Esaias Tegner,* 1918, pp. 223 f., 231 f.

In the second place the name *Varuṇa* does not appear in Iranian although the god himself must be identified with the Zoroastrian *Ahura,* more familiarly known as *Ahura Mazdāh;*[24] but the Iranian name *Ahura,* in its Sanskrit form *Asura* is frequently applied to *Varuṇa* in the *Veda.* It follows that the old Aryan name of the god was *Asura,* and we need an explanation for the new name he got among the Hindus.

In the third place the Indic god has certain characteristics not to be traced in *Ahura Mazdāh,* notably a far-reaching connection with the waters. In Post-Vedic India *Varuṇa* is simply and merely god of the sea; and in the *Veda* itself his connection with the sea and the rivers is too persistent for us to dismiss it, following Güntert's example, as merely one of the provinces of the "Weltkönig."

We can hardly escape Kretschmer's conclusion that the Indic peoples borrowed the name either from Hittite or from the same source from which Hittite *arunaš* derives. The variant form *Uruwana-* must be due to a popular etymology which grew up among Indic speakers who were not aware of the foreign source of the name. No doubt, as Kretschmer suggests, we are to see in it Sanskrit *uru-,* "wide," for "wide" is everywhere the standing epithet of the sea. So also the *v* of the familiar Sanskrit *Varuṇa* is due to a popular etymology, probably from *varīyan,* "wider," and related forms, although Kretschmer mentions other possibilities.

Kretschmer's attempt to discover why an Anatolian god of the sea was adopted, at least in name, by the Indic nation does not seem to me successful. I have no theory to account for the borrowing, but it seems to me clear that the Vedic god *Varuṇa* is essentially the old Aryan *Asura* with a new name and a new connection with the waters. The fact remains, however, that the word *Aruna* was borrowed and became the usual name of the god in all Indic languages.

It follows that Indic speech was not brought into western Asia merely by a band of marauders. If the name of the Vedic god *Varuṇa* was borrowed from a people of Asia Minor or northwestern Mesopotamia, the main body of the Indic nation must have passed that way. A few returning soldiers could not so profoundly influence the religion of the main community. That does not mean that any great number of people among the Mitanni and Hurri still spoke an Indic language in the fourteenth century. As

[24] See most recently Güntert, *op. cit.,* pp. 209 ff.

Kretschmer suggests, the main body of the Indic nation had possibly reached India by the fourteenth century. The allusions in the *Veda* to Indian climate, geography, and ethnology imply a long residence there. We must also, I think, conclude that the main body of the community moved on before they came into close contact with Assyro-Babylonian civilization. They would not have failed to learn the art of writing on clay tablets if they had had the opportunity. Until such tablets are found in India we must conclude that little or no direct influence was exerted upon that nation by the Babylonians. The Indic speech of which we find traces in Mitanni of the fourteenth century was but a remnant destined soon to perish in an alien environment.

Kretschmer (*op. cit.*) is able to point out one station on the ancient trek from Mitanni to the valley of the Indus. He finds it in the Zagros mountains between Assyria, Media, and Susa, the original home of the Kassites, who descended upon Babylonia in the eighteenth century B.C. The language of these Kassite mountaineers is known only from personal names and a score of words in a Kassite-Assyrian glossary.[25] They certainly did not speak Indo-European; but they called their sun-god *Šuriyaš,* which must be Sanskrit *Sūryas.*[26] They also worshiped a god called *Maruttaš,* who was identified by the Babylonians with Nin-IB. The latter deity forms the subject of a recent paper by Barton,[27] who says: "He is regarded as intercessor, protector, warrior, god of life, god of oracles, god of the chase, as sun-god, storm-god, and as judge." Undoubtedly *Maruttaš* got his name from the Vedic *Maruts,* gods of wind and storm and warriors of Indra's retinue. It is quite possible that the Babylonians rather than the Kassites reduced the *Maruts* from plural to singular, and probably the identification with Nin-IB was based upon the latter's character as warrior and storm-god, with temporary neglect of his numerous other attributes. A Kassite goddess was named *Simalia,* and she is said to have been the "mistress of the shining mountains, who dwells upon the peaks." One wants to connect this with Sanskrit *himālaya,* "home of snow," which is an occasional epithet of the great mountain range to the northeast of India. The difficulty with the etymology is that the Indo-European palatal *ĝh* would in that case appear as a voiceless sibilant.

[25] See Bloomfield, *American Journal of Philology,* XXV, 3-7 (1904), and references.

[26] So Chiera and Speiser, *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* VI, 83.

[27] *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* XLVI, 231-236 (1926).

I have recently argued, following Leonard Bloomfield,[28] that Sanskrit *h* from *ĝh* never passed through a sibilant stage, and no one has supposed that it was a voiceless sibilant. Probably, therefore, this etymology, attractive as it is, must be given up.

At this point as well as anywhere may be mentioned two very puzzling Aryan words which appear on a tablet from the library of Aššurbanapal. In a list of the gods worshiped in the temples of Assyria at that time (seventh century B.C.), we read:[29] *ilu Assara ilu Mazaš*. It is scarcely possible to separate these two deities from the Zoroastrian Ahura Mazdāh; but they are already worshiped in Assyria a century before the probable date of Zoroaster. Hommel concludes that the worship of Ahura Mazdāh existed before the Zoroastrian reform, but it would be safer to assume that Zoroaster combined the two deities whom we meet in the Assyrian list. No less puzzling is the antevocalic *s* of *Assara*, if we are to derive the words from an Iranian language. In spite of the fact that a god *Medhas* nowhere occurs in the Veda, it seems likely that these words as well as the Aryan vocables citable from documents of the second millennium B.C. must come from an Indic source. Hommel (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 30 f. n. 1) thinks that the names were introduced into Babylonia by the Kassites in the eighteenth century. The word *Mazaš* may as well be Indic as Iranian; for Sanskrit *medhas* comes from an earlier Indic **mazdhas*.[30]

As far as the date is concerned, there would be no difficulty in assuming an Iranian loan-word in Assyrian of the seventh century. Just possibly the Iranian *Ahura* became *Assara* in Assyria on account of his obvious kinship with the national god *Ašur* or *Ausar* (see below, p. 226).

As in the Mitanni country so in the Zagros mountains the Hindus taught their neighbors not only religion, but also horsemanship. The Kassites learned their second lesson better than their first; they used the horse to conquer a people far more highly civilized than they, and partly atoned for this by giving the horse to their new subjects.

It follows that the Indic nation sojourned among the Zagros mountains at least as early as the eighteenth century. We were right in concluding that they had left the Mitanni country long before the fourteenth century.

[28] *AJP.*, XXXII, 36-37 (1911); *Language*, II, 26 ff. (1926).

[29] Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, 3. 66. 9. 24. *Cf.* Hommel, *Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orients*, I, 204.

[30] See Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, 37-39.

In the article already cited Kretschmer joins those scholars, beginning with Oldenberg,[31] who have derived from Babylonia the characteristic features of the Vedic cult of Varuṇa and the Ādityas. He feels that this cult is so inconsistent with the rest of the Vedic religion that it must have had a foreign source. The complete answer to this argument has recently been furnished by Hermann Güntert,[32] who shows that Aryan religion embodied two inconsistent elements from the earliest times, one a spiritual and intellectual worship of the world-sovereign Asura and the other the worship of the mighty warrior and sorcerer Indra. It was this internal conflict which prepared the way for the Zoroastrian reform in Iran and for the degradation of Varuṇa from his high station in post-Vedic India. It is not safe to assume that differences of opinion must be due to foreign influence.

Kretschmer refers especially to Bernhard Geiger's[33] comparison of the worship of Mitra and Varuṇa to that of Sin and Šamaš in Babylonia. While the parallels there pointed out—emphasis on ethics, the sovereignty of god, the guilt of man, the mercy of god, inviolability of law, god's constant watch upon the deeds of men, etc.—are striking, it is none the less true that the closest parallel to Varuṇa is to be found not in Babylon, but in the Iranian Ahura Mazdāh. Some of the resemblances to Babylonian deities noted by Geiger may well be accidental, and in one case the correspondence is scarcely as close as he thinks; Sin and Šamaš are not exalted above other gods to such an extent as Varuṇa and especially Ahura Mazdāh often are. Of this more presently.

The chief reason, however, for doubting extensive Babylonian influence upon Indic religion is the one already stated. Any close contact between the two civilizations would surely have resulted in the use of cuneiform writing in India.

This consideration does not militate against the assumption of Indic influence upon Assyria. We know that Indic speech and civilization were left behind in Mitanni, and there was close intercourse between Mitanni and Assyria during and also long before the fourteenth century. During this period, I imagine, Sanskrit was actually reduced to writing in Mitanni. It would not be surprising if Sanskrit works, written on clay tablets in cuneiform characters, should presently come to light in that region.

[31] *Religion des Veda*, 49, 192 ff.

[32] *Op. cit.*, pp. 11-20. *Cf.* Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, pp. 101 f. (1925).

[33] *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, CLXXVI, 139 ff. (1914-1915).

Whether or not the Indic speakers in Mitanni learned the art of writing from Assyria, they or their ancestors exercised a powerful influence upon Assyrian religion. Kretschmer (*op. cit.*, p. 15) observes that Ašur, the tribal god of Assyria, bore the same name as Indic Asura, and that there are certain similarities between the two deities. He is right in arguing that Asura cannot have been borrowed from Assyria.[34] Asura is shown by the cognate Iranian Ahura to have been a god of the primitive Aryans, and we may be quite sure that the primitive Aryans did not dwell near Assyria. We cannot assume an independent borrowing by Indians and Iranians, because Iranian would in that case have kept the intervocalic *s* (*Asura*, not *Ahura*). So Kretschmer rather lamely concludes that an accidental similarity of name led to certain mutual influences between the two cults. The truth is more drastic than that.

Semitic scholars have been unable to find a plausible source of the worship of Ašur. In general the Assyrian pantheon is of Babylonian origin, but the name Ašur does not occur in early Babylonian texts and only rarely in those which date from the time of Assyrian supremacy. Langdon[35] remarks that the origin of the deity is a complete mystery. Clay[36] says: "The fact that the name is written *A-usar, A-šir, A-šur, Aš-šur,* etc., points to a foreign origin." All etymologists will agree that borrowed words often exhibit just such variations.

As to the character of Ašur, Sayce[37] remarks: "Supreme over the old Babylonian pantheon rises the figure of a new god, the national deity of Assyria. . . . Aššur is not merely *primus inter pares,* merely the president of the divine assembly, like Merodach; he is their lord and master in another and more autocratic sense. Like Yahveh of Israel, he claims to be 'king above all gods,' that 'among all gods' there is none like unto himself. In his name and through his help the Assyrian kings go forth to conquer; the towns they burn, the men they slay, the captives they take, are all his gifts. It is to destroy the enemies of Aššur, and to lay their yoke upon those who disbelieve in his name, that they lead their armies into other lands; it is his decrees, his law that they write upon the monuments they erect in conquered countries."

[34] Hommel, *op. cit.*, I, 219, holds that this was the case.

[35] *Cambridge Ancient History*, I², 452 (1924).

[36] *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites*, p. 139 (1909).

[37] *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians; The Hibbert Lectures*, 1887. Fifth edition, pp. 122 f.

All this is a barbaric and utterly cruel reflection of one side of the Aryan world-sovereign, who rules gods and men through *ṛta*, the divinely ordained natural and moral law. His supremacy over all minor deities was carried to its logical conclusion in the religion of Zoroaster, but it comes out clearly enough in many passages of the *Veda*. For details I refer to the passage in Güntert's book already cited.

So the god Ašur was borrowed from the Indic nation during their sojourn in or near northern Mesopotamia. Of course this happened long before the days of the Indic dynasty which ruled Mitanni in the fourteenth century. Clay thought that the worship of Ašur got into Assyria from the West, and this may well be the fact. As far as I can discover the name first appears in the Cappadocian tablets, which go back to the last part of the third millennium. One would like to conclude that the borrowing first occurred in Cappadocia, and that we have here a record of a stage of the great Indian migration still more westerly, because earlier, than their sojourn in Mitanni.

The reflection of Asura-Ahura in Assyrian Ašur was clear enough to be recognized by the Median and Persian kings when they finally came into contact with him; and so they adopted his symbol, the well-known modification of the winged sun-disk, as the representation of their Ahura Mazdāh.

The trail we have been following seems to lead further; but beyond this point I cannot find linguistic evidence. I shall therefore merely call attention to some well-known resemblances of cult which may be significant.

Güntert devotes an interesting section of his book (pages 156-169) to the Vedic god Savitar. The most striking feature of the hymns in his praise is the frequent mention of his hands, and Güntert shows that these are identified with the rays of the rising and setting sun, and that they symbolize the god's almighty power and beneficence. Güntert thinks that Savitar is merely an hypostasis—"eine Absplitterung"—of Varuṇa (*i.e.*, of Asura). On the basis of archeological and mythological data he traces this conception of Asura, the efficient cause, whose hands are the rays of the sun, back to Indo-European proethnic times. Whether or not we agree with all this, there is no doubt that Vedic mythology is full of the idea that the sun's rays are hands, and that Vedic religion includes a lofty conception of the all-powerful beneficence of god.

It might seem inevitable that Güntert would note the extraor-

dinary resemblance of the picture he has painted to the god Aton, whose worship was fostered by Ihnaton, the heretic king of Egypt. Aton, like Asura and Ašur, is so far above the other gods as to suggest to the modern observer the idea of monotheism. Aton's cult, like that of Asura, was highly contemplative and intellectualistic. The omnipotence and beneficence of Aton were regularly figured by the rays of the sun, each ray ending in a human hand. That Güntert failed to note the resemblance between his Asura-Savitar and Aton must be due to the fact that he was looking for the sources rather than for the effects of Aryan religion.[38]

We have noted that a number of the Syrian princes who were subject to Ihnaton and to his fathers before him bore Indic names. His father and his grandfather had maintained relations of the closest friendship with the Indic dynasty of Mitanni, and there had been several marriages between the two royal houses. True, there is no evidence of heresy in the extant correspondence between the kings of Mitanni and Egypt; but where couriers and royal brides travel, priests and philosophers may follow. Ihnaton had abundant opportunities to learn Indic religion.

Many scholars have commented on the resemblance between Ahura Mazdāh and Jehovah, and nearly as many upon the resemblance between Varuṇa and Jehovah. Ihnaton's heresy has been ascribed to the influence of the Israelites in Egypt, and conversely Jewish monotheism has been traced to Ihnaton. I quoted above Sayce's suggestion of a similarity between Ašur and Jehovah. He closes his account of Ašur with these words: "Wifeless, childless, he is mightier than the Babylonian Baalim; less kindly, perhaps, less near to his worshipers than they were, but more awe-inspiring and more powerful. We can, in fact, trace in him all the lineaments upon which, under other conditions, there might have been built up a faith as pure as that of the God of Israel."

It is now clear that if there is any connection between these various gods, the connecting link is to be found in the Indic religion which once flourished in or near Mitanni. There are many ways in which the knowledge of Asura could have spread into Palestine. In addition to the fourteenth-century Palestinian princes with Indic names, there are the Habiru, whom some scholars would connect with the Hebrews. In the fourteenth century the Habiru were scattered all through Syria and far to the North. In the treaty between Šuppiluliumaš and Mattiwaza the

[38] On the representation of Aton by the rays of the sun equipped with hands, see Goodenough, p. 81 of this volume.

"gods of the Habiru (*i.e.*, SA.GAZ)" stand seven lines before Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas.

But I am not asserting Indic influence upon the religions of Egypt and of Israel. I merely want to show that there are no longer any chronological or geographic difficulties in the way of assuming such influence as may, on other grounds, seem probable.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE YEAR 238 A.D.

BY PRESCOTT W. TOWNSEND

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE YEAR 238 A.D.

THE problem of the chronology of the year 238 A.D. is fraught with many difficulties and uncertainties. A considerable number of attempts have been made in the past to solve the problem, but none has proved entirely satisfactory.[1] This is due largely to the lack of accurate dating in the sources. Herodian gives no dates at all. The writer of the biographies of the emperors of that year in the Augustan history gives two exact dates for this period, which prove upon examination to be entirely unreliable. Any system of chronology for the period must be based on the evidence afforded by the chroniclers, substantiated and amplified by the papyri, coins, and inscriptions. The evidence, however, is not of such a character as to make the establishment of an absolutely exact and certain system possible.

The Alexandrian coins indicate that Gordian reigned as *Augustus* in seven Alexandrian years.[2] The Alexandrian year began on August 29.[3] Since it is certain that Gordian was still living after August 29, 243,[4] it is clear that he ascended the throne before August 29, 238. But the number of Alexandrian coins designated as year A are few. In Signor Dattari's collection only two bear that date, as compared with twenty-six for the second year, nineteen for the third, twenty-four for the fourth, twenty

[1] Domaszewski, *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie*, 1917, no. 1; Dändlicher, "Drei letzten Bücher Herodians" (in Büdinger, *Untersuchungen z. Röm. Kaisergeschichte*); Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, VII, 293 ff.; Homo, "Grande Crise de 238," *Rev. Hist.*, 1919, vols. 131 and 132; K. F. W. Lehmann, *Kaiser Gordian III;* J. Loehrer, *De C. Julio Vero Maximino Romanorum imperatore;* J. Müller, *De M. Antonio Gordiano III;* E. Sadée, *De imperatorum Romanorum tertii post Chr. n. Saeculi temporibus constituendis;* Seeck, "Die Haloanderschen Subscriptionen u. d. Chronologie d. j. 238," *Rh. Mus.*, XLI, 1886, 161-9; A. Sommer, *Die Ereignisse d. J. 238 u. Ihre Chronologie;* Stobbe, *Philologus*, XXXII, 1873, 61 ff.; Von Rohden, Pauly-Wissowa, I, 2619-2631; J. Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, I, 191 f.; U. Wilcken, *Griech. Ostraka aus Aegypten*, I, 805 f.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Alex.*, pp. 241-250, nn. 1859, 1861, 1869, 1879, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1899, 1912, 1917, 1927-1928, 1933-1934, 1939; Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini*, I, pp. 322-329, nn. 4699 ff., *passim;* Vogt, *Alex. Münz.*, I, 193; II, 137-140.

[3] Mitteis-Wilcken, *Papyruskunde*, introd., pp. liv ff.

[4] Klebs, *Prosop. Imp. Rom.*, I, pp. 99 f., no. 666; *cf.* Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 3493 (dated February 3 of the seventh year).

for the fifth, fourteen for the sixth, or an average of twenty to twenty-one for the five years in which he occupied the throne for the entire year. The British Museum collection contains no coins whatever of the first year.[5] Consequently it is clear that he was proclaimed *Augustus* very late in the Egyptian year 237-238, which ended August 28, 238.

The papyri enable the student to fix this date more accurately. An official tax return for the month Mesore (July 25 to August 23)[6] addressed to the strategus of Oxyrhynchus, indicates that the reigning sovereigns at the time the document was written were Maximus, Balbinus, and Gordian Caesar.[7] Since Maximus and Balbinus reigned only three months or thereabouts and were immediately succeeded by Gordian as *Augustus,* this must refer to the period from July 25 to August 23, 238. It was undoubtedly written soon afterward, *i.e.,* on August 24, 238, or within the few days following. Another similar tax return from Oxyrhynchus for Thoth (August 29 to September 27) bears the name of Gordian *Augustus* as the sole ruler in his second year, showing that his accession was known at Oxyrhynchus by early Phaophi, which began September 28, 238.[8] His accession must have become known at Oxyrhynchus between August 24 and September 28, 238.

A papyrus from the Arsinoite nome (Fayum) of September 8, 238, names Maximus and Balbinus as *Augusti* and Gordian as *Caesar.*[9] Another papyrus from an unknown town of the Fayum, which is dated September 21, names Gordian as *Augustus* in the second year of his reign.[10] The papyri clearly indicate that the accession of Gordian III as *Augustus* became known in the Fayum between September 8 and 21, and at Oxyrhynchus at approximately the same time.

Although it is impossible to determine the exact length of time which was required for the transmission of news from Rome to Oxyrhynchus, it is nevertheless possible to estimate it within highly probable limits.[11] Such an estimate will be of great value for the settlement of the chronology of the period. Even during

[5] Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alex.,* I, nn. 4699, 4708, and perhaps 4698; *Brit. Mus. Alex.,* pp. 241-250, *passim;* Vogt, *Alex. Münz.,* II, 137.

[6] References to the Egyptian calendar are based upon Mitteis-Wilcken, *Papyruskunde,* introd., pp. liv ff.

[7] *P. Oxy.* 1433.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Preisigke, *Sammelbuch,* n. 5125; Wessely, *Stud. Pal.,* XX, p. 44, n. 51; *cf.* Wilcken, *Ostraka,* I, 805-807, and the introduction to *P. Oxy.* 1433.

[10] Wessely, *op. cit.,* I, 23; *cf.* Wilcken, *loc. cit.,* and *P. Oxy.* 1433, introd.

[11] Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*[9], I, 331-340; A. M. Ramsay, "Speed of

the summer season, when conditions for travel by sea were as favorable as possible, at least nine days would be needed for the voyage from Puteoli to Alexandria.[12] At least two days would be required for a courier to carry the news from Rome to Puteoli. From Alexandria to Oxyrhynchus would mean not less than five days, for the Fayum a day or two less.[13] It is evident that news could hardly have reached Oxyrhynchus from Rome in less than sixteen days. This is practically an absolute minimum. Undoubtedly more time would have actually been consumed, for there is no reason to suppose that a ship left Puteoli immediately after the arrival of the courier, that the sea voyage was made in record time, and that the news was despatched to the nomes as soon as the ship reached Alexandria. After making reasonable allowances for delay, it is safe to assume that approximately a month was required for the news to reach Oxyrhynchus and the Fayum. The news of the accession of Nero reached Oxyrhynchus on November 17, 54, thirty-five days after the death of Claudius.[14] Since this news came across the sea at the end of the navigation season,[15] it is likely that it required a somewhat greater length of time than the news of Gordian's accession in summer.[16] The accession of Galba became known at Alexandria in less than twenty-seven days after he was proclaimed at Rome on June 9.[17] It would have taken approximately a month for this information to reach Oxyrhynchus. If the news reached Oxyrhynchus and the Fayum between September 8 and 21, it is extremely probable that the accession of Gordian III occurred at Rome between August 1 and August 27, allowing a maximum of thirty-eight days

the Roman Imperial Post,'' *J.R.S.*, XV, 1925, 60 ff.; *cf.* W. Ramsay, *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra Volume, pp. 378 ff.

12 Pliny, *N. H.*, XIX, 3; *cf.* Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

13 A. M. Ramsay (*loc. cit.*) and W. Ramsay (*op. cit.*, pp. 387 ff.) show that the state post would ordinarily cover five miles an hour for ten hours, or fifty miles a day. In exceptional cases a greater speed could be attained, usually for shorter distances. Friedländer's figures (*op. cit.*, p. 331) are obviously too high.

14 *P. Oxy.* 1021.

15 Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 15; Vegetius, *Epit. Rei Militaris*, IV, 39; Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

16 The papyrus (*B.G.U.* 646) which shows that the news of the accession of Pertinax on January 1 did not reach Alexandria until March 6, is of little significance for the present study, since the news which traveled overland in winter would naturally require considerably longer time. It does, however, suggest that the sea voyage in summer would have been considerably quicker.

17 Cagnat, *IGRR*, I, 1263; *cf.* W. Ramsay, *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra Volume, p. 379.

before September 8 and a minimum of twenty-five before the later date. A more accurate dating is, however, possible.

The Egyptian coins show that the accession must have become known at Alexandria before August 29, 238. This is substantiated by two of the papyri mentioned above. Since only a few coins are dated in the first year, it could not have been long before the end of the year. The existence of a few indicates that it occurred long enough before the close of the year for the news to reach Alexandria and a few coins to be struck in the name of the new emperor. If news from Rome required a minimum of eleven days,[18] and probably more, to reach Alexandria, the accession could not have taken place later than August 18. It is evident that the event occurred between August 1 and August 18, probably about halfway between those extremes.

An inscription of the Arval Brethren shows that on the sixth day before the Ides of a month, the name of which is missing, vows and prayers were offered for Gordian *Augustus* as for a new emperor.[19] If he ascended the throne between August 1 and 18, 238, these vows must have been taken on August 8. This implies that his accession occurred on that date or shortly before. August 7 is a highly probable date.[20] It is obvious that the rescript of June 21, 238, is incorrectly dated.[21]

If the date of the accession of Gordian III was on August 7 or thereabouts, it is comparatively easy to date the accession of Maximus and Balbinus as *Augusti* and Gordian as *Caesar*. The Paschal Chronicle states that Balbinus reigned three months and Publius one hundred days.[22] Zonaras allows them three months or twenty-two days,[23] and the Chronicle of 354 ninety-nine days.[24] Three months or one hundred days are probably round numbers which are not inconsistent with an actual reign of ninety-nine days. The ancient accounts are thus in substantial agreement as to the length of their reign. It is impossible to discover the source

[18] *Vide supra*, notes 5, 12, and 13.

[19] *CIL*, VI, 2113; Henzen, *Acta Arvalia*, pp. ccxxiii, 106.

[20] *Cf.* Domaszewski, *Sitzb. Heid. Ak.*, 1917, p. 10.

[21] *Cod. Just.*, II, 9, 2.

[22] *Chron. Pasch. SHB* (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*), I, 501. Publius is doubtless a corruption of Pupienus.

[23] Zon., XII, 17. Zonaras says that some writers said three months and some twenty-two days. Evidently those who stated that they reigned for twenty-two days were confusing the length of their reign with that of the first two Gordians.

[24] *Chron. CCCLIIII, MGH.* (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*), *Auct. Antiquiss.*, IX, 147.

or sources of these statements except that the Chronicle of Dexippus was used directly or indirectly by Zonaras[25] and probably by the other writers. The accession of Maximus and Balbinus must have occurred on or about May 1, ninety-nine days before the accession of Gordian III. In the Augustan History the date of the meeting of the Senate, which selected them as *Augusti,* is given as *VII idus Julias.*[26] Since, as has been shown above, the accession occurred early in May, this date is obviously entirely incorrect. The expression *ludis Apollinaribus,* occurring in connection with the date in the Augustan biography, can best be explained as an interpolation which some scribe or commentator put in on the assumption that the date was *VII idus Julias,* for those games were held from July 6 to 13.[27] A Roman inscription, dated May 11, 238, mentions a freedman of three *Augusti.*[28] Maximus, Balbinus, and Gordian Caesar must have been intended, for only during their reign were there three co-emperors in the year 238. This proves that their accession must have occurred before May 11, 238. All the evidence indicates that the actual or approximate date was May 1, 238.

The death of the first two Gordians in Africa probably took place on or about April 20, allowing ten days for the news to reach Rome. The Chronographer of 354 assigns twenty days to their reign,[29] and Zonaras, based on Dexippus, twenty-two.[30] The slight divergence is not significant. Since the Gordians ruled as representatives of the Senate and did not regard themselves as *Augusti* in the fullest sense until they had been so proclaimed by the Senate, it is probable that the figures given represent the length of time between the proclamation at Rome of their accession and their death at Carthage. This would place their acceptance by the Senate about April 1 and the beginning of the revolt at Thysdrus about March 19, thirteen days earlier.[31]

The Augustan History mentions an eclipse of the sun as an indi-

25 *Cf.* Peter, *Gesch. Lit. d. röm. Kaiserzeit,* II, 174 f.

26 Capit. *Max. et Balb.* 1. 1. None of the variant readings or emendations of the text gives the correct date.

27 *Cf.* Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer,* p. 387.

28 Dessau, *Ins. Lat. Sel.,* 1928 (*CIL,* VI, 816); *cf.* Domaszewski, *Sitzb. Heid. Ak.,* 1918, no. 13, p. 87. That the inscription has reference to Septimius Severus and his two sons, or to a still earlier period when there were three *Augusti,* is highly improbable.

29 *Chron. CCCLIIII, loc. cit.*

30 Zon., XII, 17.

31 *Cf.* Friedländer, *op. cit.,* p. 339. An allowance of three days from Thysdrus to Carthage and ten from Carthage to Rome seems reasonable.

cation that Gordian (presumably Gordian III) would not rule long.[32] Such an eclipse would naturally have occurred in connection with the emperor's accession, though not necessarily on the exact date. The only eclipses in the Mediterranean region during 238 occurred on April 2 and September 25.[33] The eclipse in question can have had no connection with the accession of Gordian III as *Augustus,* or even as *Caesar,* for both dates are too far removed from those events. Therefore, the Augustan writer must have heard of an eclipse at the time of the rise of the Gordian family to the imperial position at the accession of Gordian I and II. This accession must, consequently, have occurred on or about April 1, as indicated above. The eclipse was not total, as the description in Capitolinus would indicate. Perhaps the writer was confusing this with a total eclipse which occurred on April 12, 237. This eclipse formerly led scholars to place these events in 237, a position now shown to be untenable.[34] It is probable that the eclipse coincided in general with the arrival at Rome of the news of the revolt.[35]

Herodian states that at the time of the revolt Maximinus was rounding out his third year. This, of course, may be an approximate statement only.[36] A papyrus gives his reign as three years.[37] The Alexandrian coins allow him four years.[38] Since he was killed before August 29, 238, the years were 234-235, 235-236, 236-237, and 237-238, and he ascended the throne before August 29, 235. The Paschal Chronicle makes it three years[39] and the Chronographer of 354, three years, four months and two days.[40] This exact figure is undoubtedly meant to include the reign of the two elder Gordians and that of Maximus and Balbinus up to the death of Maximinus. The three years of the Paschal Chronicle and the papyrus are approximate. He became emperor about January fifteenth, 235,[41] but was not recognized by the Senate until March

[32] Capit., *Gord.*, 23, 2.

[33] Oppolzer, *Canon der Finsternisse*, p. 140; Ginzel, *Spezieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse für das Ländergebiet der Kl. Altertumswiss.*, pp. 83, 207.

[34] Oppolzer, *loc. cit.;* Ginzel, *loc. cit.*

[35] Lehmann, *Gordian III*, 26; *cf.* Loehrer, *Max.*, pp. 42-43.

[36] Herod., VII, 4, 1.

[37] *P. Oxy.* 35.

[38] *Brit. Mus. Alex.*, pp. 226-232, nn. 1765-1809. Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alex.*, I, 313-316, nn. 4561-4614; Vogt, *Alex. Münz.*, I, 188 ff.; II, 134 ff.

[39] *Chron. Pasch. SHB*, I, 500.

[40] *Chron. CCCLIIII, loc. cit.*

[41] *P. Oxy.* 912, dated for Maximinus February 25, 235.

25, 235 or shortly before.[42] The expression of Herodian[43] that he was rounding out his third year indicates that he had reigned approximately three years at the time of the revolt at Thysdrus. Herodian, who was writing from the standpoint of one who was an adherent of the senatorial class and consequently very hostile to Maximinus, apparently reckoned his reign only from the time it was accepted by the Senate. The figures given by the Paschal Chronicle and the papyrus are either round numbers or based on the statement of Herodian. His remark substantiates the evidence which shows that the revolt at Thysdrus occurred about March 19, 238. The statement in the Augustan History that the Senate heard the news of the revolt in Africa on June 26[44] (*VI Kl. Juliarum*) is inconsistent with the other evidence and must be rejected.

On the basis of the evidence already cited it is possible to date the death of Maximinus at the siege of Aquileia within general limits. According to the Chronographer of 354 he reigned three years four months and two days.[45] If this were counted from March 25, 235, when Maximinus was recognized by the Senate, his death would fall on July 27, 238. This is clearly impossible, for a sufficient interval must be allowed between his death and that of Maximus and Balbinus to cover the journey of Maximus from Ravenna to Aquileia and the trip from that place to Rome with an army. Furthermore, according to Herodian Maximinus found the river near Aquileia (Sontius, modern Isonzo) swollen from the melting snow of the mountains.[46] This is not likely to have been the case in July. It is clear that the Chronographer reckoned from his proclamation by the soldiers about January 15, 235. This would place his death about May 17, 238. That this date is fairly accurate may be shown by calculating the approximate time interval required by the events which took place between the accession of the Gordians and the death of Maximinus. For the news to travel from Thysdrus to Rome meant at least ten days. From Rome to Sirmium, a distance of over seven hundred miles, the news required at least fourteen.[47] Maximinus delayed at

[42] *CIL*, VI, 2001. The *Fasti Antoniniani* show that he was coöpted on that date by decree of the Senate.

[43] Herod., VII, 4, 1.

[44] Capit. *Max.*, 16, 1; *cf.* Domaszewski, *Sitzb. Heid. Ak.*, 1917, no. 1, p. 12.

[45] *Chron. CCCLIIII, loc. cit.*

[46] Herod., VIII, 4, 1-2.

[47] Parthey and Pinder, *Itinerarium Ant. Aug.*, pp. 58-59; *cf.* W. Ramsay, *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra Volume, pp. 387 ff.

Sirmium three days before setting out.[48] The march from Sirmium to Aquileia must have consumed fully thirty days, including the delay at the Isonzo.[49] The siege of Aquileia must have occupied seven days at the very least.[50] This makes a total of sixty-four days. This figure is, of course, almost an absolute minimum. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that the extreme urgency of the news would have led the friends of Maximinus to strain every nerve in order that he might receive the information at the earliest possible moment. If the messengers went by some other route than the one indicated the time could not have been very different. Since the revolt at Thysdrus began about March 19, 238, the siege of Aquileia must have ended with the death of Maximinus about May 23. On the basis of this calculation and the statement of the Chronicler of 354 it is evident that his death occurred about May 17 to May 23, 238.[51] Since the elder Gordians were accepted by the Senate about April 1, ample time is allowed for the Senate through its Commission of Twenty, and later the emperors Maximus and Balbinus, to organize the defense of northern Italy against the expected attack of Maximinus. The date fits in perfectly with Herodian's remark that Maximinus found the rivers of northern Italy swollen. Moreover, it leaves sufficient time after the close of the siege for all the activities of Maximus up to the time of his death about August 7.

In conclusion it may be useful to summarize the results of the foregoing chronological investigations in tabular form:

Beginning of the revolt in Africa . . .	*ca.* March 19.
Proclamation of the Gordians as *Augusti* by the Senate	*ca.* April 1.
Death of the Gordians in Africa	*ca.* April 21.
Accession of Maximus and Balbinus . . .	*ca.* May 1.
Death of Maximinus: End of the siege . .	*ca.* May 17-23.
Death of Maximus and Balbinus: Accession of Gordian III	*ca.* August 7.

[48] Herod., VII, 8, 1, and 9.

[49] The distance was approximately four hundred miles. *Cf.* Parthey and Pinder, *loc. cit.* If the army marched fifteen miles a day, on the average, it must have taken it nearly a month. *Cf.* Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus*, and *CIL*, III, maps.

[50] Herod., VIII, 2-5; *cf.* Seeck, *Rh. Mus.*, XLI, 1886, p. 167; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 28; Sadée, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[51] Domaszewski, *Sitzb. Heid. Ak.*, 1917, no. 1, pp. 10-11, maintains that the dedicant of an inscription at Virunum (*CIL*, III, 4820), dated June 23, 238, did not know what the outcome of the siege was. There is no indication in the inscription that the dedicant had that event in mind. Consequently it is unsafe to use this document for purposes of dating.

III MACCABEES AND PSEUDO-ARISTEAS
A STUDY

BY STERLING TRACY

III MACCABEES AND PSEUDO-ARISTEAS
A STUDY

THIRD MACCABEES and the Letter of Pseudo-Aristeas form part of the Hellenistic literature of the Jews of the Diaspora appearing in Egypt at the close of the second century and the beginning of the first century B.C. Schürer[1] argues for a much earlier date for the Aristeas letter, while Willrich[2] and Graetz[3] would date it much later. However, conservative opinion, represented by Wendland,[4] Christ,[5] and Thackeray,[6] places the date not earlier than the middle of the second century and not later than the opening of the first century B.C.

There is much more agreement as to the date of III Maccabees. It belongs to this age which abounded in polemical and apologetic tracts for and against the Jews.

In each case the title is deceptive. Third Maccabees has nothing directly to do with the nationalistic uprising of the Palestinian Jews in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. The document deals with the Jews in Egypt. As to the letter of Aristeas, the writer is now universally regarded as an Alexandrian Jew and not a Greek, as he would have us believe.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss some of the problems arising from a comparative study of the two documents as examples of Jewish apologetics and to suggest some solution that may lead to a better understanding of the two.

It may be well at the beginning to summarize the contents of the two works:

The narrative in III Maccabees is placed in the reign of the fourth Ptolemy (Philopator) immediately preceding and following the battle of Raphia in 217 B.C. The writer describes Philopator[7] after his decisive victory over Antiochus III making a trium-

1 E. Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*, III, 611 (Leipzig, 1909).

2 H. Willrich, *Judaica*, pp. 120 ff.

3 H. Graetz, *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judentums*, XXV (1876), 293 ff.

4 P. Wendland, *Aristeae ad Philocr. Epistula*, praefatio xxvi-xxvii (Leipzig, 1900).

5 W. Christ, *Gesch. d. Gr. Lit.* (Müller's *Handbuch d. kl. Alt.*, VII, 621, Munich, 1920).

6 H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Letter of Aristeas*, intro. xiii (London, 1918).

7 For a discussion of the new light recently thrown on the policy of

phal journey through Palestine and Syria. In the course of his journey he visits Jerusalem and attempts to enter the holy of holies in the temple despite the desperate entreaties of the high priest and the mass of the Jews. Only a visitation of Yahweh's anger prevents the execution of this blasphemy. The king is suddenly stricken with a mysterious illness; he falls in a faint. Enraged at this intervention of the god of the Jews in his affairs, Philopator, upon his return to Egypt, decides to take vengeance on the entire Jewish population of his kingdom, sparing only those who would renounce their religion and embrace the cult of Dionysus. His previous offer of Alexandrian citizenship to the Jews is withdrawn. He orders all the Jews to be brought from the χώρα to Alexandria and there he resolves to give them over in the hippodrome to elephants filled with intoxicants and opiates. The Jews pray for deliverance. The king's purpose is providentially delayed twice and in the third instance is circumvented altogether by a band of angels who turn the irresponsible elephants on the persecutors themselves. The effect is magical. Philopator repents, publicly declares his friendship for the Jews, orders a succession of seven feasts in honor of the occasion, and sends them back to their homes with full power to put to death the apostates within their ranks. This they do without delay.

In the document[8] Philopator characterizes the Jews as the accursed people who never cease from their folly, who plainly show their ill will toward the crown, who stand alone among the nations in their stiff-necked resistance to kings and their own benefactors, contemptuous of the offer of Alexandrian citizenship and a part in the cult of Dionysus, and above all a menace to the security of the state in time of trouble because of their traitorous inclinations. Our author tells us[9] that Philopator's proclamation embodying these sentiments was acclaimed with exultation by the masses of the population. On his own account the author describes Philopator as an insolent king and an impious man, pursuing a course of wickedness in company with his associates who are utter strangers to all justice.[10] We learn that the Jews are victims of

Philopator at this time see the monographs of W. Spiegelberg and Walter Otto under the general title, "Eine neue Urkunde zu der Siegesfeier des Ptolemaios IV und die Frage der ägyptischen Priestersynoden," published as proceedings of the Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil. u. hist. Kl. (Munich, 1926, 2 Ab.).

[8] III Maccabees, III, 16-27.

[9] *Ibid.*, IV, 1.

[10] *Ibid.*, II, 25-26.

slander[11] poured into the royal ear by informers; that the Jews were disliked for their aloofness in the matter of food; that they attempted to interfere with the enforcement of certain Ptolemaic laws; that they were actively hostile to the king. The writer is acrid in his treatment of Hellenic religious practices. He says: "With a heart far astray from the truth and with profane lips the king and his followers praised dumb idols which could not speak to them or give them aid."[12]

The close connection between this document and II Maccabees is well recognized. Emmet[13] lists these points of similarity: the repulse of Heliodorus, the punishment of Antiochus, miraculous visions, stress on the sanctity of the temple and prayers for its defense, the attempt to Hellenize the Jews, the use of official letters, and the importance of memorial feasts. I should add the strong nationalistic note in each case and the emphasis on the sanctity of the Jewish people.

These facts, together with the appearance of III Maccabees at a time when the persecutions of Antiochus were fresh in the memory of all Jews, tend to show that the work was strongly influenced by the Maccabean uprising. It is not at all improbable that the writer had fled to Egypt during that troubled time or soon afterwards. We shall see at any rate how imperfectly he understood the problems of Ptolemaic Jewry.

The letter of Aristeas purports to tell how the Jewish Pentateuch came to be translated into Greek. This information, we are told, was transmitted to Philocrates, brother of Aristeas. The work was carried out, so the writer states, under the patronage of Ptolemy Philadelphus and under the active direction of Demetrius of Phalerum, inaccurately represented as the royal librarian.

Aristeas himself appears to the reader as a Greek in good standing at the court of the king. He is a member of the royal embassy appointed to visit Jerusalem and there to obtain a copy of the Jewish Law and engage the services of competent translators. His embassy goes to the holy city laden with beautiful and costly gifts for the temple and with words of greeting for the high priest. Gifts and courtesies are exchanged. Yahweh's blessings are invoked on the forthcoming work. Six devout and learned men from each of the twelve tribes are selected as translators and the joint

[11] III Maccabees, III, 6-10.

[12] *Ibid.*, IV, 16.

[13] C. W. Emmet in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, I, 156 (ed. R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1913).

delegations make their way to Alexandria. There the Jewish scholars are received with the utmost deference by Ptolemy. The rules of court etiquette are suspended, the visitors admitted at once to the royal presence, a succession of seven feasts on as many days ordered when the king himself acts as host. In the course of every feast the king puts searching questions to his guests and they return answers of wisdom that delight the company of heathen philosophers present. After the feasting the king orders every arrangement for the comfort of his guests on the island of Pharos, whither the scholars journey for the work of translation. In seventy-two days the task is completed. The translation is first presented to the Jewish community in Alexandria and then to the king, who gives strict orders for the guarding of the sacred writings and sends his guests away with many personal gifts and assurances of his good will toward the Jewish people.

Commentators have been struck with the many points of similarity between the two documents, not only in regard to language, but also in the general purpose of the writers. Emmet refers[14] to six elements common to both: the fact that a Ptolemy is the central figure in each instance; the emphasis on the importance of the Jews' position; the beauty and inviolability of the temple; Jewish nonconformity in the matter of food; royal feasts prepared for the Jews; the obvious tone of glorification of the Jews in their own eyes and the eyes of the Greek world.

Many more can be added. Both documents give an account of an Egyptian expedition to Jerusalem. Both refer to the bitter animosity of a large part of the population toward the Jews. Both represent the Jews as victims of slander. Both represent the Jews as divided among themselves on the question of Hellenization and apostasy.

From these apparent points of similarity, the prevailing tendency has been to regard the two documents as apologetic treatises of much the same tissue, as elaborate and somewhat gaudy defenses of Judaism composed in the same historical period and no doubt growing out of a common attack on the Jews, the details of which we do not know.

But to leave the question in this state is to ignore problems just as perplexing as those confronting the student at the beginning of his comparison.

The points of contrast between the two works are even more impressive than the points of similarity. Both select a Ptolemy as

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

the central figure. But why does III Maccabees select one who is regarded, perhaps unfairly, as one of the worst Ptolemies, and Aristeas one acknowledged to be among the very best of the dynasty?

Both give a narrative of an Egyptian expedition to Palestine. For the writer of Maccabees this expedition was one of the dark hours in the history of the Jewish church, illumined only by the intervention of God; for Aristeas, the journey of the Ptolemaic embassy to Jerusalem is one of the glorious moments in the history of the Jews.

Both acknowledge a strong feeling of anti-Semitism in Egypt.[15] In Maccabees the grounds of hostility are stated baldly and with surprising thoroughness. In the letter of Aristeas this hostile feeling is referred to directly only once, and this reference has to do with the reign of Philadelphus and is mentioned only to reinforce the writer's contention that this Ptolemy was an outstanding friend of the Jews. Otherwise Aristeas resorts to subtleties, as we shall see later, when he discusses what I take to be the feeling against the Jews.

Both represent the Ptolemies as recognizing the importance of the Jews and extending them certain privileges. But whereas III Maccabees shows Philopator driven to respect the Jews only after a miracle from heaven, Aristeas reveals his Ptolemy as respecting them because of their intrinsic worth, their piety and wisdom.

Both documents glorify the Jews. Third Maccabees does so by picturing them as the chosen people of the only true God, who is ever ready to help them in time of trouble and who has established and given sanction to their law. In Aristeas, the chosen people theme is subordinated to the proposition that the Jews are a glorious people because of their fidelity to certain universal principles of righteousness, acknowledged alike by the Greek and the barbarian. For Aristeas, the Jewish law derives its dignity from its essential merits as well as from its divine origin. It can be rationally defended in the museum and the academy.

Both writers refer to Jewish nonconformity in the matter of food. About this issue centered much of the bitterness against the Jews. It was the symbol of their social aloofness, a daily reminder that they were a peculiar people. The author of III Maccabees accepts the system as divinely ordained and has hatred for all Jews who transgress the law for the sake of the social amenities.

[15] See A. Bludau, *Judenverfolgungen im Alten Alexandria* (1906); Felix Stähelin, *Antisemitismus des Altertums* (1905); and Leo Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens* (Vienna, 1924).

Philopator feasts the Jews, to be sure, but they eat by themselves. On the other hand, Aristeas essays a philosophical defense of the Mosaic dietetic regulations. When he describes his royal feasts, he has King Ptolemy present as the host surrounded by Greek philosophers and Jewish scholars mingling on the most friendly of terms. Of course, the particular dishes for the Jews have been specially prepared according to the law, but the significant point is that this difference sets up no social barrier.

It seems clear to me after such an examination of the documents that they are in definite conflict on many important issues. Admitting both our authors to be Jews, writing about the same time in defense of their people, the differences in method and ultimate aim are so pronounced that some explanation must be sought. We cannot with Schürer dismiss III Maccabees as "a tolerably insipid piece of fiction founded at most on an entirely unascertainable fact,"[16] and content ourselves to treat Aristeas as merely "a panegyric on Jewish law, Jewish wisdom, and the Jewish name in general."[17] Nor should we stop, as so many of the modern commentators do, when we have shown how satisfactorily the language of both documents corresponds to the language of the papyri of this period and when we have speculated on the historicity of the events described. In a very real sense the fictitious elements in each case furnish the clew to the understanding of the writings, while the historical kernel is of secondary importance.

My own suggestion for an interpretation of the two works is to regard III Maccabees as the earlier composition and the Aristeas letter as issuing not long afterwards, if not as a direct answer to Maccabees, at least as an attempted counterirritant.

To support such a view, first of all, plain evidence of influence should be shown. Then the indications should point to such influence proceeding from Maccabees to Aristeas and not contrariwise. Maccabees as the earlier work should appear as arising naturally out of the polemical currents of the day, bearing marks of resemblance to the common apologetic treatises which abounded in this period, while the Aristeas letter should possess more of the unique. Maccabees should be provocative, Aristeas conciliatory, and conciliatory on just those points dealt with unwisely in the earlier document.

As to the question of influence, we have noted already the re-

[16] *Op. cit.*, Eng. trans., div. II, vol. III, p. 216 (Edinburgh, 1886).
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 306.

marks of Emmet. He does not go so far as to assert a direct influence, but the points of similarity he mentions afford mild grounds for a presumption of influence. Christ refers[18] to Emmet's comments but with no elaborations of his own. I endeavored to set beside these points of similarity many contrasts which argue more strongly for direct influence. The whole question is bound up with the development of the remainder of the thesis.

That III Maccabees arose naturally out of the literary tendencies of the times is indicated first by the fact that it is admirably suited for reading in the synagogue or προσευχή on one or many of the Jewish feast days of deliverance so common in their calendar. The conclusion of the Book (VII, 19-23) adds much weight to this view:

> Having reached the end of their voyage with befitting thanksgivings, there too in like manner they determined to observe these days as well as a festival during the time of their sojourning; and having inscribed them as holy on a pillar and having dedicated a place of prayer on the spot where they had held their festival, they departed unharmed, free, and full of joy, being brought safely on their journey by land and sea and river according to the king's command, each to his own dwelling place, having even greater authority than before in the eyes of their enemies with glory and honor, and being despoiled by no one at all of their goods. And they all recovered the whole of their property so that those who held any of it returned it with great fear, God having wrought great things for their salvation. Blessed be the deliverer of Israel for ever and ever.[19]

What better order of service could be had at such festivals than the reading of III Maccabees?

There is nothing new about the formula. It was a repetition with variations of the old stories of the Exodus under the wicked Pharaoh, the repulse of Sennacherib, the deliverance of the three Hebrew children from the fiery furnace, and the pacification of the lion in the presence of Daniel.

So much to indicate that the writer had ample motives for writing independent of Aristeas and that in writing he traversed a well-beaten literary highway.

But I fail to find any motive as natural and logical as this in the case of Aristeas. In his opening words, addressing his brother, he says he writes an account of the translation of the Jewish law because he perceives in his brother a natural love of learning for

[18] *Op. cit.*, pp. 619 ff.
[19] Translation of Emmet in *op. cit.*

its own sake, the highest possession of man, as he calls it. Well enough, had he begun and ended with a history of the translation that would have satisfied so disinterested a lover of learning, but wholly inadequate to explain the apologetic note[20] that runs throughout the work and the many digressions with which it is filled.

As to the unique quality of his method, we find him breaking with the leading currents of polemical writings in his day, represented on the one hand by sacred writings in the style of Daniel, Esther, I and II Maccabees, and many others, and on the other hand by the secular polemical tracts which openly defended Jewish customs and assailed the errors of paganism. The effectiveness of his method will be seen, I believe, after treating of the next point, namely, that III Maccabees is a provocative work.

It appears to be so in the first place because of its unrestrained attack upon Ptolemy Philopator. It is small mitigation of the offense to urge that Philopator had been dead a hundred years and that he was never very popular at any time. He was a Ptolemy, nevertheless, and the perpetuation of such a story among the Jews could not inspire any deeper loyalty in their hearts toward the reigning house.

Moreover, III Maccabees appeared at a time of great confusion in Egypt.[21] After the middle of the second century the Jews had suffered by espousing the cause of Cleopatra II, widow of Ptolemy Philometor, when she attempted to put her son on the throne in opposition to Physkon. Physkon won and Cleopatra lost. The Jews, along with the others of the defeated opposition, were punished. Indeed, Josephus's account[22] of the treatment accorded the Jews by this king bears a strong resemblance to the details of the persecution related in III Maccabees and ascribed to Philopator. We have the drunken elephants, the miraculous visit of angels, and the deliverance of the Jews. Hence, the writer of III Maccabees, writing, it may have been, in the reign of Physkon or soon afterwards, escapes the charge of open disloyalty only by the device of changing the name of his Ptolemy—that is, if we credit the essence of the story of Josephus, as is the fashion today.

In Palestine and Syria such an apologetic treatise as III Maccabees would have been effective. There the Jew was set definitely against the king. It was open warfare. The first two books of the

[20] For the apologetic note running through the document see M. Friedländer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Apologetik,* pp. 85-104.

[21] J. P. Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies,* pp. 377-424 (London, 1895).

[22] *Contra Apionem,* II, 5.

Maccabees reflect faithfully the prevailing Jewish thought in that region.[23] But such literature would never do in Egypt. From the time of Soter, perhaps even of Alexander, the Jews of Egypt had relied on the royal arm for protection. In the eyes of the native Egyptians they were symbols of alien oppression, in the eyes of the Greeks and Macedonians unassimilable barbarians.

Evidence of a Philo-Judaic policy under most of the Ptolemies is clear.[24] Evidence of an anti-Semitic policy is scattered and cloudy as in the case of Philopator and tinged with political motives as in the case of Physkon. The stronghold of anti-Semitism from the beginning was in the masses of the population and not in the royal house.

Consequently, III Maccabees is gravely defective apologetic material when it assails Ptolemy Philopator directly and a later Ptolemy, perhaps Physkon, inferentially. The writer, no doubt, had in mind some recent mistreatment of the Jews, but he had not the historical perspective to evaluate the long-time effect of Ptolemaic policy and to recognize how serious an open rupture might prove to the Jews.

In the next place, III Maccabees is unfortunately conceived for Ptolemaic Jews in that it intensifies their factional division at a time when a united front was vitally important. The vigorous espousal of the narrow, nationalistic, and separatistic party may have resulted in the edification of the pious Jews, but it revealed to the heathen world an Egyptian Jewry divided against itself and gave aid and comfort to the detractors of the Jews who maintained that these people not only could not become assimilated, but they would not. Thus III Maccabees flouts public opinion in Egypt as well as the house of Ptolemy.

It is from such considerations as these that I characterize III Maccabees as a provocative piece of writing, demanding an answer in the interest of the large body of Jews who were dependent on the king for protection and who were seeking some *modus vivendi* with the gentile population.

The Aristeas letter supplies excellent rebuttal material on the essential points of weakness in III Maccabees. Against the vilification of Philopator it sets the glorification of Philadelphus. The philosophical sanctions for the kingship are stressed. The bond of union between the Jews and the Ptolemies is shown to rest not

[23] For one of the clearest treatments of this subject consult Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums,* II, 121-273 (Stuttgart u. Berlin, 1921).

[24] Fuchs, *op. cit.*

on terrifying miracles, but on mutual respect. By inference, the Jews are asked to forget the temporary hardships and sporadic persecutions and remember that, after all, it was a Ptolemy who gave them their sacred scriptures in a language understood of the people, who honored the temple at Jerusalem, and who was the protector of Jews in Egypt from the oppression of the populace. The charge of royal flattery that might have been lodged against him as a Jew is avoided because of a Greek pseudonym. The message to the Greeks was: "See what a worthy people these Jews are that so great a king as Philadelphus was their patron and friend." The pseudonym also helps him with the Jews. He cannot be accused of partisan bias.

The factional division, enlarged upon in III Maccabees, is smoothed over by pointing a satisfactory way to harmonize the differences. It is possible, according to Aristeas, for the Jew to be faithful to his own religion without being an enemy to the religion of the Greeks. Religious differences need not mean social isolation, as the example of the royal feasts shows. Hellenic religion, treated contemptuously in III Maccabees, is dealt with sympathetically by Aristeas and a brilliant effort is made to arrive at some synthesis of Hellenism and Judaism without the loss of the identity of either. Judaism is commended to the Greek as a rational and holy way of life, and Hellenism in its ethical aspects is commended to the Jews as the effluence of the spirit of God that operates among all peoples.

However, the writer of the Aristeas letter is before all other things a Jew, interested no less than the author of III Maccabees in the equitable treatment of his fellows at the hands of the king and the populace. The difference lies in his method. Nowhere does he openly lecture the king or threaten him with reprisals. His devices are more subtle. In the section of his letter dealing with the banquet and the questions put to the Jewish scholars, the king asks, "Toward whom should a man be liberal?"[25] and the Jewish scholar replies, "All men acknowledge that we should be liberal to those who are in agreement with ourselves, but I think we ought to show the same spirit of generosity to those who differ from us, that by this means we may win them over to the right."

I interpret this passage as a plea for religious toleration.

The king also asks, "How can I be a friend of men?"[26] The answer: "By observing that the human race increases and is born

[25] Wendland, *op. cit.*, p. 227.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

with much travail and suffering, wherefore you must not lightly punish or inflict torments upon men since you know that pains and penalties are the lot of humanity. For if you understood all things, you would be filled with mercy, for God is merciful."

Surely a more effective protest against persecution than the bombast of III Maccabees.

Again the king asks, "How can I effect harmony among the mixed races in my kingdom?"[27] and this answer is returned, "By playing the proper rôle together with each one, with justice as your guide as you are now doing by the help of God."

Another question, "How can I be free from error?"[28] The answer: "If you always act with deliberation and never give credence to slanders, but prove for yourself the things that are said to you and decide by your own judgment the requests which are made to you."

That the Jews suffered from slanders we have already learned from III Maccabees. Aristeas meets the issue by appealing to the intelligence and sense of justice of the king and not by threatening him with a visitation of angels if he heeds the slanders.

These suggestions are intended for the king. Aristeas has some advice for the Jews. In the description of the scholars selected for the translation, he says: "They espoused the middle course, and this is always the best course. They abjured the rough and uncouth manner, and they were altogether above pride and never assumed an air of superiority over others, and in conversation they were ready to listen and give an appropriate answer to every question."[29]

Again, in the course of the banquet, the king asks, "How can I be patriotic?"[30] The answer is: "By keeping in mind the thought that it is good to live and die in one's own country. Residence abroad brings contempt upon the poor and shame upon the rich as though they had been banished for a crime."

The temptation, to which I do not yield, is to regard this passage as a personal reference to the writer of III Maccabees, who might very well have been one of the Jewish immigrants from Palestine following the persecutions of Antiochus. In any event, both question and answer lose point when applied to the king. He himself is the object of patriotism. He does not take up residence abroad. Some zealous Jews are patriots. They take up their resi-

[27] Wendland, *op. cit.*, p. 267.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 252.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 122.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

dence in Egypt. I take the remarks as intended for them, and especially those who bring with them narrow ideas of nationalism into a strange land.

From such a comparison it appears that the differences between III Maccabees and the letter of Aristeas arise out of issues of vital importance to the well-being of Ptolemaic Jewry, and that Aristeas is effective and intelligent on essential points where III Maccabees is weak and unintelligent.

So, in the absence of any facts to the contrary, in view of the fairly clear and independent origin of III Maccabees, and the difficulty of finding such evidence in the case of the Aristeas letter aside from my own hypothesis, and in view of the striking points of similarity and the equally striking points of contrast, it seems reasonable to assume some definite influence and to regard the Aristeas letter as a rebuke to the school of thought represented by III Maccabees.

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